

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

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ART. I.—JOHN WESLEY.*

THE eighteenth century, rife as it was in doubters and deniers, had its hearts of faith and tongues of fire. The assailants of Christianity were, indeed, more than met by its intellectual champions. In point of scholarship, science, and philosophy, faith bore the palm in the desperate struggle. Gibbon wrought no harm to Lardner, nor Volney to Priestley. Butler, and Kant, and Reid tower above Hume, and Diderot, and Condillac. If we speak of theorists of nature, how small and contemptible seems the system of D'Holbach by the side of that of Swedenborg ! Who compares Helvetius with Cuvier ?

But there is one thing more rare, as well as more power-

* 1. *The Life of Wesley ; and Rise and Progress of Methodism.* By ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq., LL. D. Third Edition. With Notes by the late SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE, Esq., and Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley, by the late ALEXANDER KNOX, Esq. Edited by the REV. CHARLES CUTHBERT SOUTHEY, A. M. London. 1846. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1058.

2. *The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, M. A., sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford.* Collected from his Private Papers and Printed Works ; and written at the Request of his Executors. To which is prefixed some Account of his Ancestors and Relations ; with the Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M. A., collected from his Private Journal, and never before published. The whole forming a History of Methodism, in which the Principles and Economy of the Methodists are unfolded. By JOHN WHITEHEAD, M. D. Boston : J. McLeish. 1844. 2 vols. 8vo pp. 308 and 313.

3. *The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, A. M., sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Founder of the Methodist Societies.* By RICHARD WATSON. New York. 1831.

ful, in a period of doubt and disputation, than scholarship, or science, or philosophy. Apologetic literature, so characteristic of the theologians of the last century, is at best barren in vital force or quickening energy. Earnest faith is the thing needed, — faith whose words burn as well as enlighten. Such the eighteenth century had. The age of Rousseau and Voltaire was the age of Whitefield and Wesley.

Providence appears to keep up a pontificate of its own, very different from that in the gift of the Romish cardinals. Its holy unction dwells ever upon some consecrated head. If Fénelon bore it in his time, it is not difficult to point out his successor. From the death-bed of the Archbishop of Cambray, we look towards England for a person worthy of being named in connection with him. The date is 1715. Remembering that Europe was then entering upon that transition period of doubt and infidelity that has so marked the whole century, — not forgetting, that at that time in Geneva, in Switzerland, there was a child of three years named John James Rousseau, and in Champagne, in France, another of two years named Denis Diderot, and that the young Arouet, afterwards called Voltaire, at the age of twenty-one was already astonishing the saloons of Paris, and alarming the court of Versailles, by his genius and satire, — we pass on, and, crossing the Straits of Dover, approach the cliffs of England, and look upon the land of our fathers at that interesting period. The revolutionary struggles of the nation had subsided. The belligerent parties and their descendants, both Puritan and Churchman, enjoyed the privileges of civil and religious liberty with comparatively small restriction. But with quiet times worldliness came. No longer provoked by persecution, nor startled by danger, the Established Church and the Dissenting sects had settled down into a comfortable indifference. Honorable exceptions, indeed, there were, — exceptions among high names in literature, such as Bishop Wilson, Doddridge, and Watts; — exceptions, too, in quarters then indeed little noted, but since well known by their fruits, as in the case of the family in Epworth, Lincolnshire, which furnishes us with our present subject.

In that place, a market-town of some two thousand inhabitants, dwelt at the time of which we are speaking a good Christian minister, who had little sympathy with the general indifference. He had been for more than twenty years

pastor of the village, and united with the Episcopal principles which he had adopted much of the Puritan zeal in which he had been educated. His wife was of the same mind and religious lineage. She had so far departed from the usual etiquette of the Establishment as to conduct religious conferences in her parlour during her husband's absence, much to the horror of Mr. Inman, the starched-up curate. Such had been the good pastor's opposition to prevalent vices, that in 1709, when his house was burned to the ground, and his son John, then six years old, was saved from the flames almost by a miracle, the incendiaries were supposed to be persons who had been goaded to revenge by the closeness of the preaching.

At the time selected for the commencement of our sketch, the family appears to have consisted of eight members, — the parents and six children. The eldest son, Samuel, a High-Churchman in orders, aged twenty-three, was a graduate of Oxford, and then connected with the charge of Westminster school. The second son, John, had been absent about a year at the Charter-House school, London, and was twelve years old. The youngest surviving son, Charles, aged seven, was at home, preparing to go to Westminster under the protection of his eldest brother. Of the three sisters, although interesting and gifted persons, we cannot speak.

The people of England little thought that from the family of this humble minister of Epworth the greatest religious movement of the age was to originate. If, at the time spoken of, any remarkable attention was directed towards Epworth parsonage, it was not on account of any anticipation of the renown of the family, but from the strange sounds and shocks which towards the end of the year began to alarm the household, and which have never been satisfactorily accounted for. They were believed to be supernatural; but soon the servants gave up their fright, and from the frequency of his visitations learned to joke about the ghost, whom they called "Old Jeffrey."

If the career of the sons had been matter of interest sufficient to engage attention, it would have seemed no very difficult matter to predict their destiny. The eldest had already found his sphere, and the younger sons, John and Charles, intended, as they were, for that stronghold of priestly conservatism, Oxford, might have been expected to walk in the same path as their brother, — passing their lives in some quiet academic office, or comfortable parsonage.

A measure of distinction might perhaps have been anticipated from talents such as theirs, but not the distinction of great innovators or reformers. If of the two younger boys peculiar hope was entertained at home, it was probably of the elder of them, John, rather than of the more restless Charles. John had been saved from fire as by especial providence, and on earth, as among the angels, there is joy over the lost lamb that is found. Mothers are sometimes very shrewd as well as affectionate, and from passages in Mrs. Wesley's papers we infer that she had made him the object of peculiar mention in her prayers, speaking before God "of the soul of this child, whom thou hast so mercifully provided for." How her prayers were granted we shall soon see.

Leave Epworth in the year 1715. Return to it twenty-seven years afterwards. The first week in June, 1742, a traveller covered with dust entered the town, and, "not knowing whether there were any left in it now who would not be ashamed of his acquaintance," went to an inn in the middle of the place. Every feature of the village is familiar to him, yet he is among strangers. Only an old servant of his father, and two or three poor women, recognize him, for he had been absent many years. Yet his name needed only to be mentioned to set the people in commotion. It was John Wesley, son of the former and now deceased minister of the village. It was the famous man who had for about three years been putting vast assemblies into a blaze of enthusiasm by his itinerant preaching. Himself a minister of the Church of England, he called on the curate of the parish, Mr. Romley, and offered to assist him either by preaching or reading prayers. Romley was one of those strong Churchmen of the period, whose respect for orthodoxy in its old routine was only equalled by their relish for a good dinner with abundant potations. The curate's wine-bibbing propensity Mr. Southey is willing to affirm. Romley rejected the traveller's offer with scorn. In the afternoon, although the people crowded to church to hear their old minister's son, the curate conducted the services himself, and preached against religious enthusiasm, in that peculiar style of eloquence which is most congenial with the after-dinner hours of men of his stamp. After sermon, John Taylor, a companion of Wesley, stood in the church-yard, and gave notice, that "Mr. Wesley, not being permitted to preach in the church, designs to preach here at six o'clock."

"Accordingly," says our traveller in his Journal, "at six I came, and found such a congregation as Epworth never saw before. I stood near the east end of the church, upon my father's tomb-stone, and cried, 'The kingdom of heaven is not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.'" During the week, and on the next Sunday, he preached from that singular pulpit, which he undoubtedly selected from true filial feeling, however well fitted for dramatic effect. Southey well compares him to the Greek tragedian, who, when he performed *Electra*, brought into the theatre the urn containing the ashes of his own child.

Who can wonder at the effect of such an appeal? "Lamentation," he says, "and great groanings were heard, God bowing down their hearts, so as with one accord they lifted up their voices and wept aloud." Some dropped down as if dead, and others, having passed through the crisis, broke out into thanksgiving.

We feel, of course, interested in knowing what impression the preacher left upon the intelligent portion of his hearers. A gentleman present, of a somewhat skeptical turn of mind, Mr. Whitelamb, a clergyman of the English Church, thus describes the scene in a letter to Wesley himself, whose brother-in-law he was : —

"Dear brother, I saw you at Epworth on Tuesday evening. Fain would I have spoken to you, but that I am quite at a loss how to address you or behave. Your way of thinking is so extraordinary that your presence creates an awe, as if you were an inhabitant of another world. God grant that you and your followers may have entire liberty of conscience: will you not allow others the same? I cannot refrain from tears when I think that this is the man who at Oxford was more than a father to me! This is he whom I have heard expound and dispute publicly or preach at St. Mary's with such applause!"

John Wesley is now fully before us. We are in a good condition to judge of his character and history, aided by so many advisers. To say nothing of the obsolete works of Colet and Hampson, we have before us biographies by Henry Moore, who sides with the regular Methodist organization, Whitehead,* who is rather severe upon the Wesleyan

* The work of Whitehead came near dying out, we might infer, from the statement of the American editor, that he knew of only two copies, —

hierarchy, Southey, who looks through the spectacles of the English Church, and Watson, who appears to aim at a medium which shall unite brevity with comprehensiveness, and honor Methodism with least disparagement to other parties. The notes of Coleridge are of essential service in modifying the one-sidedness of Southey, and doing justice to the enthusiasm which the High-Churchman could little appreciate. Using these aids, let us now look upon Wesley as presented to us at this interesting period of his life. He is now in the meridian of his years, although little beyond the entrance of his famous career. In him, the fervid field-preacher, and in Mr. Romley, the tippling, easy curate, who declared him unfit to receive Christian communion, we see specimens of the two extremes of the Christianity of the times. We ask, What were the causes of Wesley's singular course? How came he by his peculiar views and marvellous power?

The son of the Epworth minister, after completing his preparatory studies at the Charter-House, at sixteen went to Oxford. In six years he received deacon's orders, at the age of twenty-two. He now added to the former Christian sobriety of his life a careful and systematic attention to sacred studies and devout meditations. His favorite books were Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying*, Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, and Law's *Serious Call*. He divided his hours by a most rigid method, and soon made himself obnoxious by his excessive strictness. From the time that he found companions in his ascetic course, Methodism dates its nominal rise. This was in the year 1729, his twenty-sixth year, when he, with his brother Charles and two others, united at Oxford in a society for mutual edification and Christian action. They lived, studied, visited, preached, and gave alms by a rigid rule or method. Hence the name Methodists, although it was not until years afterwards that the denomination with its distinctive principles arose. Before he appears as the founder of a great religious order, the ascetic priest of Oxford must pass through a second and third crisis. He must spend three years in absence from his country, and on his return meet with the change which he regarded as his conversion.

Omen of events afterwards to transpire, he turned his face

his own and one other. There is one in the library of Brown University, however. From catalogues of foreign collections, we judge the work to be no great rarity in England.

towards our Western hemisphere. At the age of thirty-two he sailed for Georgia as an Episcopal missionary, and high hopes were entertained of his labors in that new settlement. Those hopes were miserably disappointed, for he made as complete a failure as any green divinity student could possibly do, by sheer folly. Devoted and conscientious as he was, he so overstepped the due bounds in his requirements, and held on so stoutly to every letter of his ascetic code, that he provoked the worldly, and sometimes scandalized the really religious. Among other foolish entanglements, he got into a vexing controversy with the friends of Mrs. Williamson, to whom before her marriage he had been thought engaged. He made himself the town-talk, by his pertinacity in refusing her the communion. His success was pretty much the same as would attend one of the Oxford Tractarians, who should leave his academic halls and venerable cloisters for a mission to some new settlement in Missouri or Iowa, and attempt to bring the motley population of the place into conformity to his numberless fasts and saints' days. Wesley, indeed, came very near anticipating Puseyism by a century. In many things he reminds us of Newman and his party.* His experience at Savannah probably did much to cure him of his formalism, and after a three years' absence he returned to England, a wiser but no less devoted man.

Now the great crisis, as he deemed it to be, came. During his passage to America, and his residence there, he had become acquainted with many Moravians, spent much time in their company, and been much impressed with the deep and serene faith which they exhibited alike in their words and deeds, — a faith that seemed to give them a strange peace in their daily lives, and to lift them above fear in the most terrific dangers. No melody ever moved him like the hymn chanted by them during the storm at sea. He was led to think much of their favorite doctrine of the witness of the spirit, or of that interior assurance which convinces the Christian that he is forgiven and accepted, and which of course substitutes peaceful reliance for anxious waiting. He was to be indebted for a still more decided influence to these good Moravians. A few months after his return to England he fell in with Peter Bohler, and had earnest

* It is worthy of note, that Rev. Charles Wesley, grandson of the noted Charles, is now chaplain to the queen, and one of the prominent friends of the Oxford school.

conversations with him as to the ground of peace with God. After talking with Wesley, Boehler exclaimed, "My brother, my brother! this philosophy of yours must be purged away." Boehler advised him to rely upon Christ with more simplicity and confidence, and insisted upon the efficacy of implicit faith in giving pardon and peace. May 24, 1738, was the day which Wesley regarded as the time of his first being brought to stand on true gospel ground, and of his exchanging legal formalism for spiritual faith. The morning had been spent in the study of the Bible, and "in the evening," he says, "I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, whilst he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt that I did trust in Christ, — in Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me, that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

After a short visit to the Moravians of Germany, to avail himself of their counsels, Wesley returned to England, and commenced the career in which he continued for upwards of fifty years.

Now he had a constant and engrossing theme, — present salvation through faith with the witness of the spirit. Speaking from an experience so full and dearly bought, he preached with a power that seemed as surprising to himself as to his hearers. Whitefield was in advance of him in the work; but even that noted revivalist, — afterwards leader of the Calvinistic branch of the Methodists, as Wesley was of the Arminian branch, — Whitefield, gifted perhaps in voice and manner as no preacher ever was before, soon found himself second in influence to one by no means conspicuous for personal graces, or noted for native eloquence. Induced at first, by Whitefield's urgency, to break through the decorum deemed binding upon a minister of the English Church, Wesley preached first in the open air at Bristol, in 1739, and soon found himself obliged to continue the practice from necessity, since the pulpits of his Episcopal brethren were generally closed against him, and moreover no edifice would have been sufficient to hold the vast assemblies which he frequently addressed.

We thus see the train of influences that made him what he

was when he appeared in the village of his birth, and preached with such power, standing upon his father's tomb. Yet it was not until two years after his alleged conversion, that Methodism appeared in the form of a distinct organization. In 1740, Wesley separated from the Moravians, and to that date Methodists ascribe the rise of their great denomination. In 1744, four years afterwards, the first conference of Methodist preachers was held; and in 1784, the articles were drawn up which provided for the discipline of the order after the founder's death, and the decisive steps were taken which gave to the American branch of the fraternity distinct superintendents, or bishops, as they were afterwards called.

The period of Wesley's noted public ministry is before us, — a subject of intense interest. Yet we can but glance over its eventful scenes. Think as we may of the wisdom of his system or the truth of his doctrines, we must all allow that he was a true soldier of the cross, and shrank from no opportunity of serving his Master's cause. Nothing in history is more remarkable than his conduct in the midst of mobs that sought his life; and no scenes in the progress of Christianity are more touching than some that may be chosen from his career of itinerancy. He never quailed before the most infuriated mob, and almost always lulled the storm to rest. Upon these transactions Southey is more eloquent in the preacher's praise than even Moore or Watson.

In one case, when the house was beset by a great crowd, who cried out for him and declared that they would have him, — "Bring out the minister, we will have the minister!" — he simply desired one of his friends to invite the captain of the mob into the house. The fellow came, and was so worked upon — whether soothed or awed — as to seem an entirely different person; and by the charm of Wesley's address, two or three of the man's companions went through the same change. Wesley afterwards went out, and, standing upon a chair, addressed the mob. The cry was now very unlike the former one: — "The gentleman is an honest gentleman, and they that seek for his blood must spill ours first." In another instance, he had been seized and bruised by a mob. He appealed to them to give him a hearing, and, obtaining at length a moment's silence, immediately in that clear and moving voice of his began to pray. The man who had headed the rabble, and who had been prize-fighter at a bear-garden, was so wrought upon as to turn and say: —

“Sir, I will spend my life for you ! Follow me, and not one here shall touch a hair of your head.”

Why should the populace have been so enraged at a movement so pacific as that of Methodism ? In part, probably, on account of the rebuke applied to prevalent sins, and in part from the novelty and strangeness of the meetings. There was undoubtedly some offence against good taste in the exciting method of the preachers ; but an English mob has never shown any great horror of bad rhetoric or of overmuch vehemence. It was the conversion of their friends and neighbours that stirred up the wrath of the crowd. Once in a while, moreover, some strait-laced Tory was found conniving at the outrages of the rabble. Wesley tells a curious story of the arrest of a score of Methodists, who were immediately put into a wagon, and dragged to the justice's. Their accusers were asked to state the ground of the complaint, and seemed at this to be struck dumb. At last, one of them cried out, — “Why, they pretend to be better than other people ; and besides, they pray from morning till night.” The magistrate asked if they had done nothing else. “Yes sir,” said an old man, “they have *converted* my wife, an't please your worship. Till she went among them, she had such a tongue ! And now she is quiet as a lamb.” “Carry them back, carry them back,” said the magistrate, “and let them convert all the scolds in town.”

Wesley's Journal describes with graphic simplicity the scenes of his itinerant preaching. “At Gwenap, in the county of Cornwall,” he says, “I stood upon the wall in the calm, still evening, with the setting sun behind me, and almost an innumerable multitude before, behind, and on either hand. Many likewise sat on the little hills, at some distance from the bulk of the congregation. But they could all distinctly hear, while I read, ‘The disciple is not above his master,’ and the rest of those comfortable words, which are day by day fulfilled in our ears.” To this spot he frequently came, and in his old age he says of it : — “I think this is one of the most magnificent spectacles to be seen this side heaven. And no music is to be heard on earth comparable to the sound of many thousand voices, when they are all harmoniously joined together, singing praises to God and the Lamb.”

At another time he speaks of preaching so near the sea in a high wind, as to make him fear that he could not be heard,

yet "God gave me so clear and strong a voice," says he, "that I believe scarce one word was lost." Again he preached in a church-yard by the ruins of a cathedral, and a great congregation from the lead-mines knelt down in the grass among the tomb-stones. This scene might well have shaken the ashes beneath the sod, and brought out the ghosts of the old monks and devotees who had once worshipped at that decayed altar, and carried blessings to the neighbouring poor. Again, at Gawksham he preached on the side of an enormous mountain, and "the congregation," he says, "stood and sat row above row in the sylvan theatre." Once he had the ground measured, and found that he had been distinctly heard at the distance of a hundred and forty yards. At the age of seventy, he preached in the open air to thirty thousand persons.

His labors were incredible alike in their amount and their character. Preacher, theologian, ruler, he was constantly at work. Every year he travelled many thousand miles, and even in his travels never slackened his studies. On horseback he was at his book, and at the stopping-places was ready with pen and voice. Twenty years before his death, an edition of his works in thirty-two volumes was published, embracing treatises upon a great variety of subjects. Religion was of course the absorbing theme, but history, natural philosophy, grammar, and even medicine, came in for their share of his time and pen. He was the father of the system of cheap books for the people. He was willing alike to compose and to compile whatever would instruct and elevate the many. Thus he exerted vast influence. From the sale of his books he derived the chief means for his great charities. To his honor be it spoken, the amount ascertained to have been given away by him exceeds a hundred thousand dollars. Consistently enough he might preach that close and judicious sermon on "Money as a Talent," under the three heads, — "Gain all you can; Save all you can; Give all you can." Many go with the preacher in the first two heads, who would be much staggered by the third.

There is no sight more refreshing and instructive than a cheerful, active old man. Let us look in upon Wesley in his hale old age.

The excellent Alexander Knox met him a few years before his death, and declared that every hour spent in his company afforded him fresh reason for esteem and veneration.

"So fine an old man I never saw. The happiness of his mind beamed forth in his countenance ; every look showed how fully he enjoyed

'The gay remembrance of a life well spent.'

In him old age appeared delightful, like an evening without a cloud."

It would not have been difficult to identify that old man anywhere, whether in London or either of the chief cities of his sojourn, or in his travels. Few, however, would have judged him to be what he was, from his external appearance merely. Little of the daring innovator was there in his mien. In some distant part of England, you might have seen a man pursuing his journey resolutely on horseback, and showing by the book in his hand that he grudged to lose a single moment of time. You might see the same man walking with firm step through some town or village, giving proof in every motion that he had a work to do. His stature was under middle size, his habit of body thin, but compact. A clear, smooth forehead, an aquiline nose, an eye of piercing brightness, a complexion of perfect healthfulness, distinguished him among all others. Even his dress was characteristic, — the perfection of neatness and simplicity, perhaps with a little touch of primness ; a narrow, plaited stock, a coat with a small upright collar, — his clothes without any of the usual ornaments of silk or velvet, — combined with a head white as snow to give the idea of a man of a peculiarly primitive character.

One book he always carries with him in his journeys, besides the Bible. It is his Diary. Would we learn what view of life the old man takes, we can seem to look over his shoulder on his eighty-sixth birthday, and read what he has written. June 28, 1788, he writes : —

"I this day enter on my eighty-sixth year. And what cause have I to praise God, as for a thousand spiritual blessings, so for bodily blessings also ! How little have I suffered yet by the rush of numerous years !"

After mentioning a few marks of the infirmity of age, he declares that he feels no such thing as weariness either in travelling or preaching.

"And I am not conscious of any decay in writing sermons, which I do as readily, and I believe as correctly, as ever.

"To what cause can I impute this, that I am as I am? First, doubtless, to the power of God fitting me for the work to which I am called, as long as he pleases to continue me therein; and next, subordinately to this, to the prayers of his children.

"May we not impute it, as inferior means, — 1. To my constant exercise and change of air? 2. To my never having lost a night's sleep, sick or well, at land or at sea, since I was born? 3. To my having sleep at command, so that, whenever I feel myself almost worn out, I call it, and it comes, day or night? 4. To my having constantly, for about sixty years, risen at four in the morning? 5. To my constant preaching at five in the morning for above fifty years? 6. To my having had so little pain in my life, and so little sorrow or anxious care?

"Even now, though I find pain daily in my eye, or temple, or arm, yet it is never violent, and seldom lasts many minutes at a time. Whether or not this is sent to give me warning that I am shortly to quit this tabernacle, I do not know; but be it one way or the other, I have only to say, —

‘ My remnant of days
I spend to his praise
Who died the whole world to redeem;
Be they many or few,
My days are his due,
And they all are devoted to him!’ ”

So it proved three years afterwards. In 1791, March 2d, at the age of eighty-eight, he breathed his last, with a hymn of praise on his lips. With the little strength remaining, he cried out to the friends watching his departure, — “The best of all is, God is with us”; and could only whisper the first two words of a favorite psalm, — “I’ll praise, I’ll praise.” His friends were left to finish the lines, for Wesley’s voice was to be heard no more.

He died, but a work remained such as no other man of his century left behind him. At the time of his death, more than a hundred thousand persons looked to him as their guide to heaven, and now the hundred thousand has become a million.

Whence this vast power? We reply, from the age, the man, and the method.

The age was cold and skeptical. The common people were neglected by those who should have been their teachers. A tongue of fire was needed none the less for the philosophy and scholarship that distinguished the eighteenth century. The metaphysics and ethics of sages like Berkeley and Butler, the learning of scholars like Lardner and

Warburton, were little successful in awakening faith ; nor were the well written and sensible sermons of Secker and Sherlock, Paley and Blair, very powerful in rebuking sin, even in the select class of their admirers. Fire was wanted, and it came.

It came in a peculiar man, and a peculiar method. The man was a combination of elements usually deemed incompatible. We cannot accord to him any remarkable depth of intellect. To philosophical insight or metaphysical faculty he laid small claim. Neither was poetic genius one of his gifts ; nor any remarkable power of fancy or imagination. George Fox, his forerunner in practical reform, notwithstanding his narrower compass of gifts and attainments, strikes us as having a deeper mind ; and original thoughts once in a while shine out from his rhapsodic medleys, that startle the reader more than any thing in the great Methodist's pages. But as uniting practical judgment and efficiency with burning enthusiasm, Wesley is unequalled, certainly on this side of the age of St. Ignatius. His head was as clear and utilitarian as Franklin's, — without the least particle of mysticism or extravagance ; whilst his heart flamed with a zeal like Loyola's, and glowed with a charity like Fénelon's. At once an acute reasoner and an enthusiastic devotee, he carried out his thoughts and emotions with a determination of purpose worthy of being mentioned with the mightiest, — even with that mighty will already preparing, at the close of Wesley's life, to show itself in France in the young officer from Corsica.

It cost him little to say that least and hardest of words, — that countersign to the gate of virtue, — “No.” He could readily resist the entreaties of father and brother. He was proof against the irritations of the fireside, and swerved not a jot from his course to propitiate the peculiar companion, who, it was more than whispered, enabled him to sympathize with Job, the patriarch, and Socrates, the sage. He carried out his plans without regard to opposition on the part of others, or to the sacrifice of his own time or ease. As an instance of his disposition, he coolly ascertained, by experiment, how much sleep would do for him, and the result became the rule of his subsequent life. Not a few of our readers, doubtless, from remembrance of many vain attempts to form the habit of early rising, will be ready to say that the man who could do this need not fear difficulty in any quarter.

Wesley's sharp mind and determined will remind us often of old Wickliffe, although that father of the Reformation distanced him far as an independent Protestant and Scripturalist. Wesley was a rigid disciplinarian, and came near being a sad formalist. That he was tyrannical, we see no proof. His great power came to him from the necessity of his position. We cannot say that the sectarian sceptre was as disagreeable to him as it would have been to many of his contemporaries, although we can name none who would have borne it with greater mildness and self-denial. Benevolent, just, persevering, courageous, indomitable, he stands, beyond question, first in achievement among the Christian men of his century.

Such was the man. From the man came the method. It was part and parcel of himself, — the method of doctrine, and of discipline. The doctrine came from his clear head and religious experience, in connection with his study of the Bible in itself and its interpreters. His creed pointed to immediate effect. The Christian life, according to him, begins at once in repentance and faith. Thus the need of immediate salvation must be urged, and men exhorted to lay hold of acceptance at once. Thus begun, the Christian life continues in peaceful assurance progressively to perfect love. Religion being thus progressive, and man being gifted with ability to advance or retreat, hence the need of a system of instruction and discipline that shall have constant watch over the converts. Accordingly, if the readiness with which present salvation through faith was offered to the listening thousands savored too much of enthusiasm, the fear of their abuse of the doctrine ceased the moment the ably adjusted mode of discipline appeared, by which the convert was led on, by patient steps, from his new raptures to maturer knowledge and more sober piety.

The force with which Wesley insisted upon the doctrine of free-agency, in opposition to Calvinism, — his statement, that every man can lay hold of salvation for himself, and afterwards lose his hold by negligence, — gave him great power in appealing to men to repent and believe, and strive to continue in well-doing when once upon the right ground. The cheerful, affectionate temper of his faith, the hope and love expressed in the hymns and general devotions of the Methodist worship, gave the cause of which he was the leader great popularity in an age of heavy formalism. He owed

much to his brother Charles, his constant helper, — less resolute than himself, indeed, in action, and sometimes weary of innovation, but far his superior in poetical gifts. To Charles Wesley Christendom owes a lasting monument, as one of her most gifted psalmists, uniting, as he does, the great excellences of a writer of hymns, — fervor, point, simplicity, and dignity.

Measured by the classic standards, Wesley was by no means a great preacher. His sermons show little genius, but great good sense, coherence, practical knowledge, and force. Some of them are very remarkable for worldly wisdom in connection with Christian aim. All of them show the same single purpose, — to win men to Christ, and keep them there. They are, by universal consent, greatly superior to Whitefield's; yet they do not, in the printed form, exhibit sufficient power to enable us to understand their singular effect. The power was in the man. The spirit that was in him struck fire from the simplest words.

As a theologian, he was learned, lucid, and forcible, although by no means the first in this department in his denomination. The superiority of Fletcher, in point of depth, is, we believe, generally admitted. If — as he himself would have deemed it no slander to call him — he were the Montanus of the movement, determined and fervent, like that bold Phrygian, Fletcher was the Tertullian, mightier with the pen, and the master in theological wisdom.

As a disciplinarian, he was very strict; yet he imposed upon others fewer burdens, by far, than he assumed himself. A stickler for due subordination, he abhorred slavery, and cried out against it at a time when it was an heroic thing so to do. Partial to Episcopacy, he detested its too frequent formalism, regarded bishops, not as a distinct order by themselves, but simply as superintending presbyters, and had no faith in the doctrine of the Apostolic succession as held by Churchmen. His method of discipline, reaching, as it did, from the small bands of a few persons up to the General Conference, was characteristic of himself. He was a paragon of systematic order. When, a boy at school, he ran every morning thrice round the garden for exercise, he showed a trait that marked his whole life. His day was divided with a precision that is amazing. He would not yield a jot from his plans, even to keep friendship with Whitefield, or to enjoy the society of Dr. Johnson. He thus, by his rigid

method, accomplished a vast amount of work, and lived ten lives in one. As he ruled himself, so he legislated for others. The Methodist system illustrates the man, and an acquaintance with its workings is the best key to his character. Many of its features we must regard as too dictatorial for our Protestant freedom, and far from being an improvement even upon the hierarchy which it displaced. But under his administration it appears to have been admirably adjusted and balanced. We cannot but say, — Honor to the man who in himself exalted so rigid a method with so earnest a soul, and combined in his policy such elements of order and freedom, control and aspiration!

Faults he doubtless had. Who has them not? He may have been too set and notional, a little imperious, somewhat credulous and superstitious. Some of his opinions were whimsical. He believed in ghosts and evil possession. He recognized the future existence of brute beasts. He trusted important actions to lot, and ascribed peculiar authority to the passages of the Bible upon which he might chance to open. But he should be judged by the rule of his life, not by the exception. Surely, what he calls true religion or catholic love was the inspiration of his life. Of the convulsions, shrieks, trances, groans, and shouts of his converts we make small account, as he comparatively did at last. The deepest groanings of the spirit are those "that cannot be uttered." It is for the warmth of his Christian love, and the hearts without number inflamed by him with the like sentiment, that we honor him. To us his name is fragrant among the saints and fathers of modern Christendom. With some of our readers, at least, his name will be greeted more cordially from the fact, that he did not regard the gate of heaven as closed against the pious believer in a creed not Trinitarian, and recognized a Unitarian, like Firmin, as a genuine Christian.

What is to be the destiny of the religious order formed by him we do not undertake to predict. The symptoms of return to the Establishment among some of the more wealthy and cultivated Methodists of England, and the dissensions upon reform topics in the denomination in this country, present omens not very encouraging to the champions of the Wesleyan hierarchy. We apprehend, moreover, that the progress of Christian liberty, in its best sense, will not be favorable to the permanence of the rigid discipline and des-

potic polity with which the successors of Wesley have continued to burden their churches, under circumstances so different from those existing in the days of their founder. Time is a severe commentator upon every religious reform. Enthusiasm is apt to end in license or tyranny. To which issue Methodism is more likely to tend, grave history must ere long record. That record, whatever it may be, will leave no stain upon the memory of Wesley. If Whitehead gives the true view of the rise of Methodism, Wesley's better genius would be as much honored by the prevalence of a more independent spirit, as by the continued or increasing consolidation of the order.

Wesley's death took place, as we have seen, March 2d, 1791. England little appreciated the man whom she had lost. The Established Church, of which he continued a minister to the last, and in the bosom of which until shortly before his decease he had desired his people to remain simply as a religious society, gave him little benediction, shutting against him the pulpits that were open to clerical Nimrods and Bacchanals.

Look from Wesley's death-bed towards France; and on the morrow the streets of Paris exhibited a scene that should have proved to the conservatives of England the worth of him who could impress upon the neglected masses the sentiment of religion. The sacred vessels of the Parisian churches were carried to the mint to be coined into that which is called the "sinew of war." England followed not France in the desecration. A sentiment of reverence guarded, and still guards, her altars. The tombs of her saints and sages were not to be violated as were those of France, nor their ashes to be scattered to the winds, that the lead of their coffins might be moulded into bullets. Hearts, by thousands, once rude and violent, were now at peace with God, living in recognition of a heavenly kingdom, and chanting holy hymns instead of shouting fiendish curses. Myriads once crushed beneath poverty and toil had been rescued, and, with the faith and love of the Gospel, every good gift had been given. America, too, had shared the blessing; her remote borders had been visited by the missionaries of Methodism, and her forests had rung with their thrilling hymns.

The founder of the great society rested not in St. Paul's nor Westminster Abbey. The ruling powers did not desire it, although they did not deny such consecrated ground to a

profligate man of genius, or a blasphemous soldier. Nor did Wesley desire to be buried away from his people. His remains were laid beneath the chapel in which he had so often preached.

Rest in peace, soul of John Wesley ! we are all ready to say. May the English race, in all its branches, bless that name. As for us, we take leave of his memory now by applying to him his own tribute to Whitefield in the sermon upon his death, in 1770 : —

“ Who is a man of a catholic spirit ? One who loves as friends, as brethren in the Lord, as joint partakers of the present kingdom of heaven and fellow-heirs of his eternal kingdom, all, of whatever opinion, mode of worship, or congregation, who believe in the Lord Jesus ; who love God and man ; who, rejoicing to please and fearing to offend God, are careful to abstain from evil and zealous of good works. He is a man of a truly catholic spirit who bears all these continually upon his heart ; who, having an unspeakable tenderness for their persons, and an earnest desire for their welfare, does not cease to commend them to God in prayer, as well as to plead their cause before men ; who speaks comfortably to them, and labors by all his words to strengthen their hands in God. He assists them to the uttermost of his power in things temporal and spiritual. He is ready to spend and be spent for them ; yea, to lay down his life for them. How amiable a character is this ! How desirable to every child of God ! ”

This portrait came from the painter's own soul. It might have been extravagant praise to bestow on George Whitefield. It is no more than truth, when applied to John Wesley.

Thoughts many and important are suggested by the survey that we have hastened through. This thought is most obvious, and is all that can be added : — What an idea the history of Wesley and his work gives of the capacity of an individual, and of the productiveness of a single life ! It is a great question, in our day, How may the largest crop be derived from an acre of ground ? Far greater the question, How much efficient power can a life produce ? Wesley's story is a stern homily on persevering, devoted, cheerful labor. “ Work ! work ! ” it cries, trumpet-tongued. “ Work on, work ever, in faith and love ! ”

His method we know ; what is ours ? Let every conscience answer.

S. O.

ART. II. — ON THE NEGLECT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Is the number of church members, or regular partakers of the Lord's Supper, in our religious societies, such as ought to satisfy us, as Christians, that all is right? If not, what is the general extent of the neglect, what are its evils, the causes from which it proceeds, and the means to which we may resort for its removal?

That there does exist a very great neglect of the communion is a point which appears, unhappily, only too easy to prove. If a person unacquainted with the customs of Christian countries, a Mohammedan or an Asiatic Jew, were to enter one of our churches, and to be told that he was about to witness the rite commemorative of the founder of our religion, he would experience some surprise at the spectacle presented. Having just heard the whole assembly addressed in language implying that they were all believers in Christianity, — having seen them all not only listening respectfully to the instructions of the preacher, but expressing by their posture that they united in the prayers which he offered, — he now sees them, before the memorial rite is administered, retiring in such numbers as to leave for the moment a doubt whether any will remain to join in it. And when, on a second glance, he discovers some persons, mostly advanced in years or of the gentler sex, occupying seats at wide intervals in the pews which were but a moment before so crowded, he asks in surprise, Are these all the Christians in the assembly? And, if these be all the Christians present, he might continue, of what religion are the others? He has seen no mosque, no synagogue, no pagoda, in the city or the village. Is it possible that three fourths or more of the inhabitants are of no religion at all, — believers in no God, and followers of no prophet?

The representation just given cannot be thought to be over-colored. We trust that there are churches among us, the aspect of which would be more encouraging. But in its general features, we believe that the representation we have given describes the true state of things in the worshipping assemblies of our own denomination.

Before inquiring into the causes, let us look for a moment at the evils of this neglect of the communion among us. Some, perhaps, may think that it would be a matter of little

consequence, if the non-observance of the rite were carried even farther than it is, — that it is but one of the externals of religion, and may be dispensed with, as it is by the Society of Friends, while the spirit of Christianity is still pervading the hearts and influencing the lives of men.

To this we reply, that though the rite is undoubtedly, as all rites are, external, it by no means follows that it is of slight importance. Not to insist on the ground of positive requirement by our Saviour, it is an institution which beyond all others serves to connect the disciple with Christ as his Master. Our religion — the religion we profess to believe — is not simple Theism. It is Christianity ; Theism as taught, developed, and proved by Jesus Christ. This is a distinction not always kept in view in addresses from the pulpit ; and even if the preacher remember it, the hearers are sometimes in danger of forgetting it, — of substituting a general and very indefinite belief in a God, for that beautiful delineation which the Gospel presents to us, in which we are made to understand the character of the Father by seeing it reflected in the Son. In order to avoid this danger, to remain living branches of the sacred vine of which Christ is the root, we need something to remind us continually of him, to bring before us in vivid representation the traits of that perfect character which is to be the model of ours. The communion effects this in a way in which nothing else can. It effects it in part even for those who do not approach the table, as it generally suggests as the subject of the accompanying discourse something suited to lead the hearers to contemplate their Master. But to the faithful communicant it does far more. It recalls him from the wanderings of vague speculation, to sit an humble learner at the Saviour's feet. From cold reasoning it recalls him to warm feeling. It places before him the world's great pattern of forgiveness, patience, love, and devoted obedience, and tells him, 'This is thy Master ; go and be thou like him.'

By the prevalent neglect of the communion, all this is lost to thousands who ought to share its advantages. Nor is this all. An evil perhaps still greater exists in the *supposed* relaxation of the demands of duty, in favor of those who are not communicants. Highly as we value the influence of the Lord's Supper, we have sometimes been tempted for a moment to indulge the thought, that it were better not administered at all, than to be made, as it is, the privilege of a few.

For if by uniting in it those few express their belief, so by declining may not the majority be said to express their disbelief, or at least their unwillingness to receive the yoke of Christ? And making this negative profession, and being supported in it by the fellowship of thousands, what more natural than that they should live according to it? And thus they do live in many instances, apparently without a thought that they are accountable to the law of Christ, because they have never in the appointed way owned allegiance to that law. An eminent Virginian, when censured for his conduct in reference to a fatal duel, replied on the floor of Congress to the following effect: — “I am not a Christian. I honor Christianity, and hope that I may be a Christian at some future time. When I am so, I shall, I trust, act according to that profession. But at present my principles and my practice are those of the cavalier; my code is that of honor.” Did he mean to assert that he was not a believer in the truth of the Christian religion? Not at all. His declaration, that he hoped to be a Christian at some future time, was an admission to the contrary. He only meant that he was not a church-member, “a professor,” as the phrase is, and therefore, as he reasoned, was not accountable to the laws of religion for the part he had borne in the fatal deed. He spoke according to the views generally entertained on the subject through the greater part of our country, and I fear too prevalent even in New England.

Contemplate the subject in another point of view. The communion, as it is now observed, — or rather as it is now neglected, — becomes a snare for weak consciences. A young man grows up, and does not feel that strong religious impulse which is necessary to make him break through the prevailing custom and become a church-member. Still, he is sufficiently aware of his duty to make him feel that he has done wrong in neglecting it. There is then a sin committed, recognized, and persevered in. What a deeply injurious influence upon the character must proceed from the consciousness that this is the case! In those denominations which encourage their adherents to expect especial calls from God, this evil would be diminished. The young man would justify himself by the plea that he was waiting God's time, and would thus be saved in part from the debasing effects of conscious wrong-doing. But to a believer in our opinions this excuse would not be available.

But evil as this prevalent neglect of the Lord's Supper is in its consequences, it is still more alarming when viewed as a sign of the general state of feeling, or want of feeling, with regard to religion. We hope, indeed, to show that the existing state of things in our churches has arisen in part from other causes than want of piety. Yet we cannot but feel that the scanty number of communicants among us, particularly as compared with the attendance on the ordinance among our brethren of other denominations, is to be contemplated with humiliation and with anxiety.

What are the causes to which we must trace this lamentable inattention to the commemorative rite ; and what the remedial measures to which we can resort ?

Two different views of church-membership have been held among Christians. They may be called, for distinction's sake, the Catholic and the Genevan. We use the term Catholic, as, though liable to misconstruction, the best which the case admits. We mean by it the doctrine which we conceive to have been the original one ; which prevailed undisputed in the Church of Rome, and was retained at the Reformation by the German Lutherans and the English Episcopalians. According to this view, church-membership is the right of all who believe in the truth of the religion, unless under express church censure. According to the Genevan view, it is the right only of those who have experienced a change of heart. In the Romish Church, the child, when he has attained a certain age, is confirmed and partakes of the communion as a matter of course. The same is the custom in the Lutheran and Episcopal Churches, except where their practice has been modified by intercourse with the Genevan sects. The Church of England knows no distinction between church-members and worshippers who are not church-members. The table is spread for all. Only in the Book of Common Prayer the direction is given, that if the minister shall know of any notorious evil-doer among those who approach the table, he shall warn him to abstain. So in the Lutheran Church. At a certain age the children are instructed in the principles of religion, examined and confirmed. They are then as much entitled to the communion as the most tried Christian in the congregation.

The other view of the ordinance is the Genevan. This, proceeding on the theory of a natural opposition of the heart to God, regards those only as proper members of the church

of Christ in whose hearts this opposition has been overcome by the influence of the Holy Spirit ; and requires some proof of this fact, — at least that the individual himself should be convinced of it, — before he partakes of the communion. This view is carried out in the most consistent manner by the Baptists ; for it is somewhat difficult to see why one of the ordinances should be granted to the unregenerate person, while the other is denied ; why the child should be admitted, by baptism, into the church, and then, years after, find himself excluded from its privileges.

Now the Unitarian Church stands in this singular position, — that while its principles are such as favor the Catholic view of church-membership, its practice, derived from our Puritan ancestors, is in conformity with the Genevan. Hence we lose the advantages of both. Our people neither come to the communion as a matter of course, on reaching the suitable age, like the members of other non-Calvinistic denominations, nor do many among them ever experience that great inward conflict, succeeded by the transporting assurance of Divine favor, which their Orthodox neighbours regard as the proper commencement of a religious life.

In saying that the view of church-membership which we have called the Catholic one is more congenial to our opinions than the Genevan, we are aware of the objections which may be brought against this position. We may be told that the tendency of such a view is to degrade the ordinance of the Supper, by throwing it open to the whole congregation ; and may be referred to the English Test Act, by which formerly all military and civil officers were compelled to partake of the communion in the Established Church. But the desecration of the ordinance here was not the result of any peculiar view of its nature. It was the result of a union of Church and State ; and precisely the same result followed, from the same cause, among our Puritan ancestors. With them, no man could vote for civil officers, much less bear an office, unless he was a church-member, — in other words, unless he attended the communion under their form. Thus, even Genevan strictness could not save the ordinance from desecration to the purpose of a political test, under a government which recognized a union of Church and State.

If, as we are accustomed to maintain, there is no natural, hereditary depravity in man, but the child when born is pure from all stain of sin ; if it is the legitimate work of a relig-

ious education, aided only by the unseen and universal influences of God's spirit, to sow and foster the seeds of piety ; and if in those who are properly brought up regeneration is a change which, however important in itself, is at the time imperceptible ; then the assumption of the Christian profession and obligations is evidently the proper termination of a course of youthful instruction in the principles of religion, and the youth, when he has gained a competent knowledge of his Maker's laws and his Saviour's character, should be led by his Sunday-school teacher to the communion-table. If, on the contrary, there is corruption to be removed, and a heart at enmity with God to be reconciled to him by a great and very perceptible inward change, then of course that change must be waited for till it shall please God to send it, whether it be late in life or early. Thus it is awaited among the Orthodox sects, and not in vain. Their whole system is adapted to produce, at some period of life, that marked change to which they give the name of regeneration. When this change takes place, he who feels it becomes a communicant of course, and thus their churches are filled. But we preach improvement much more than regeneration ; and improvement is so gradual a process, that it fixes no precise time to be regarded as the proper season for a Christian profession ; the consequence is, that with many of our people — far too many — that profession never is made.

We have shown with sufficient distinctness our own preference for the Catholic view of church-membership over the Genevan. But we are constrained to admit that very little good has followed the efforts which have been made among us to break down the barrier between the church and the congregation, and open the communion to all. Dr. Greenwood, several years since, published a tract, showing what was the ancient custom of the Church, and the practice most conformable to the teaching of Christ and his apostles ; but though his own congregation inherited the Episcopal practice on the subject, he certainly did not succeed in leading them to a universal reception of the communion. In some few other churches among us the communion-table has been made open to all who should desire to approach, without examination, test, or subscription of any kind. As far as we have observed, no practical advantage has been gained thereby. The congregations at large, we believe, have no more thought of partaking than they would have done in those

churches where the table is most strictly "fenced." On the other hand, the rapid increase of the Baptist denomination seems to show that the establishment of a very wide distinction between church-members and others, attended with considerable external ceremony, has something attractive in it to the mind. On the whole, we are convinced, that though it is undeniable that the church of old comprehended the whole assembly of Christians, and the youth come to maturity attended the communion as unquestioningly as he attended preaching, yet the usages resulting from the Genevan creed are so firmly fixed in the habits of our communities, that attempts on the part of the clergy to restore the ancient system, and to bring the practice of our churches more into conformity with our faith, must be made with much deliberation and care, with ample explanation of the reason for every step pursued or recommended, and with much patience with regard to the direct fruit to be expected from such attempts.

We would not, therefore, recommend any direct interference with the existing organization of our churches, or the disuse of those simple and impressive forms which are generally employed in the reception of members. These forms are not a barrier which need prevent any one from entering the church. But let the clergy in their discourses, without endeavouring to destroy customs which have in them the claim to reverence which antiquity imparts, enlighten the people with regard to their own right to church-membership. Perhaps they will have more success than has yet fallen to their share, if they substitute this idea of *right* for that of *duty*, which they have been accustomed to urge, and, instead of endeavouring to force the people into the church, show them how unjustly they have in past time been excluded from it. And would it not be well, if they should strive to present to the young more distinctly than has yet been done the privilege of participation in the communion, as the result, the appropriate close, of their early course of instruction? In one of our churches, a few years since, the ceremony of confirmation was administered. This rite, though having strong claims to apostolic origin, and though from its intrinsic beauty and impressiveness we cannot but wish that our Puritan fathers had retained it, is still so entirely unknown to Congregational usage, that we would not recommend its introduction, unless after full consultation between the minister

and his people. But might not a form be adopted, by which, at each Sunday-school anniversary, or at the close or commencement of the year, the church should recognize those younger brethren and sisters, who had attained a sufficient age, and were found upon examination fitted in knowledge and in character, and extend to them the right hand of fellowship, inviting them to full communion? Let the pastor, having made a statement of his object, invite to his house the most advanced class in his Sunday school, or, in general, the young people of his society, between the ages of sixteen and twenty. Let him meet them on successive Sabbath evenings, or at such other times as may be convenient, and examine them individually upon their religious knowledge and feelings; let such instruction as shall be thought necessary be given in a series of familiar, conversational lessons, the design being especially to lead them to serious thought, and engage their personal interest in the subject of religion. At the termination of this course, which might continue for about two months, let them be received into the church in the presence of the congregation. Let this ceremony take place regularly, as often as the numbers presenting themselves will justify it, either annually, biennially, or triennially, and on some occasion which would increase the impressiveness of the scene. Such would be the last night of the old year, or the first Sunday of the new. Some, perhaps, favorably impressed towards the rite of confirmation, would on such occasions adopt the mode which that rite prescribes, receiving the young candidates for church-membership with the apostolic "laying on of hands." By most, however, it will probably be thought best to retain the simplicity of Congregational customs. What is of most importance will in either case be the same; — a regular service, at stated intervals, either annual or of two or three years, for adopting into partial or full connection with the church those who may have recently arrived at the suitable period to assume by their own act the obligations of religion. Something of special pastoral examination and instruction would also in either case be necessary. Such a course might be attended with signal advantage, by engaging the attention of the young, before they have parted from the salutary influence of Sunday-school instruction, and inducing them both to choose distinctly the path of Christian obedience, and by an act of profession to avow that choice, and secure to themselves for the remain-

der of their lives the hallowed and hallowing influences of the commemorative ordinance.

We have been led to speak at greater length than we intended of the obstacle to general attendance on the communion, to be found in the anomalous position of our denomination, combining a liberal creed with Calvinistic customs. But this cause is not alone.

Many are withheld from participation by mistakes relative to the nature of the ordinance, — some by a vague and superstitious dread, resulting from early impressions of a Calvinistic character, — others by a more distinct, though still erroneous opinion, founded on a misapprehension of St. Paul's language when protesting against the gross misconduct of the Corinthian church. Such errors the preacher must of course labor to remove, by showing the causes from which they have originated, and the effort which has from age to age been made to surround this simple rite with mystery, and render the festival of Christian freedom a means of strengthening the chains of mental slavery.

Others are detained from the communion by a very different cause, — a dislike of those qualities which they have, either with or without reason, been led to believe are apt to distinguish church-members, — formality, cant, and pharisaic hypocrisy. Feelings of such a description may, perhaps, better be met in private conversation than by preaching; though, occasionally, in the latter mode the character of the true church-member may be vindicated. This whole class of prejudices may be styled "anti-Orthodox." They result from the old controversial position of our denomination, and are gradually passing away. Their decline will be aided by the scrupulous observance of candor and courtesy by ministers in speaking of our Orthodox brethren. Where we differ from them, we may fairly state the difference and its reasons, but should never allow ourselves to sneer at their professions or their customs, nor suffer such sneers to pass unrebuked in our presence.

Others are deterred by a cause more worthy of respect, consisting in a tendency of mind to carry to excess the idea of the spiritual nature of religion. Our age and clime inspire a very different appreciation of religious forms from that which was natural to Orientals in the time of our Saviour. We have ceased entirely to recognize the spiritual influence of fasting; and there are those who have ceased to find any

such influence in a participation in the emblems of the Saviour's body and blood. Perhaps this tendency of our un-imaginative age is felt by many who do participate. Many, probably, partake because they consider it their duty, who yet find it difficult to enter into the spirit of the ordinance. We should suppose that such a result implied some deficiency in susceptibility of imagination, but for instances where the mental character of the individual forbids such a supposition. And however we may regard such instances, we cannot but believe that the deficiency to which we have alluded is one great cause why the communion is undervalued. But the fault is not in the partakers alone. If the ordinance were presented to their minds as the Saviour appointed it, simply as a feast of love and commemoration of him, there are few who would not feel its power; but it has been so shrouded in mystery, so complicated with false ideas of church-membership and religious profession, that the dying Saviour is no longer the chief object present to the mind. The remedy for this evil, as far as depends on the clergy, is apparent. Let their remarks in explanation of the communion, their arguments for its observance, and, in great part, their views of it as a means of profession, be presented on other occasions; but when we meet around the table of the Lord, let him we commemorate be the chief object in the thoughts of all.

But after all, the great obstacle among ourselves, and among all sects, to attendance on the communion is the same great obstacle to all good which we are continually meeting, and must continually strive to remove, — indifference, want of deep religious feeling and principle. If the members of our congregations can be made truly pious, they will, generally speaking, be led by love and reverence to the communion-table, though any should strive to keep them thence; if their hearts are not brought under the influence of religion, in vain do we open the door to those who care not to enter. This consideration should not, indeed, prevent us from doing our best to remove every impediment that is caused by wrong views of the ordinance, nor from exercising our best judgment as to the means of winning attention to this important aid in Christian progress. Rather will this thought inspire new vigilance and activity. If we regard a scanty attendance upon the communion as a sign of a low state of piety in our congregations, we shall be

excited to remove not only the sign, but the cause from which it has proceeded. The minister's duty is twofold : — first, to place the ordinance in a proper point of view before his people, so that no impediment shall exist to keep back from participation those who are worthily disposed ; this is one part ; but the much more important branch of his office is, to awaken those feelings and impress those principles which shall lead to the discharge of this, as of every duty, the prompt and grateful use of this, as of every means of grace. Let neither portion of the great task be neglected. Let the clergy instruct their hearers in their duty and their right to approach the Lord's table. Let them still more earnestly strive to lead them forward in the love and in the fear of God, and in reverence and gratitude to their Redeemer.

To recapitulate the suggestions we have made as to the course to be pursued in order to induce a more general attendance upon the ordinance of the Supper. That course is, in the first place, that the minister should explain to his hearers that they are, if sincere believers in the Gospel, and endeavouring to obey its laws, entitled to church-membership ; that it is not an end, but a means, — not a crown for the victor, but a sword for the combatant.

Secondly, that he should meet prejudice by fair and clear explanation of the true grounds of regard for the institution ; and try, in whatever use he makes of the ordinance, to keep prominently in view its character as a memorial rite, intended to engage the feelings in the cause of religion.

Thirdly, that he should direct special attention to the young, — above all, to those who year after year leave the instruction of our Sunday schools ; that, instead of suffering these to fall into the ranks of indifference, he should engage them to make the termination of their period of instruction the beginning of their membership in the church, consecrating themselves to God and to Christ at their entrance on the duties of mature life.

Lastly, that he should be excited, by regarding the scantiness of our communion-bands as a mark of the spiritual wants of our churches, to renewed ardor and perseverance, the exertion of every power and the use of every means to promote the growth of true piety among those intrusted to his charge.

S. G. B.

ART. III.—NATURE AND CHRISTIANITY.

[A Dudleian Lecture, delivered in the Chapel of the University at Cambridge, May 12, 1847. By REV. WILLIAM H. FURNESS.]

THE subject of this Lecture is Natural Religion, a subject which, with all the ability with which it has been treated, remains but imperfectly understood ; as is evident from the impression, so generally existing, that while Christendom, the region of Revealed Religion (as Christianity is called, in opposition to Natural Religion), rejoices in the full daylight of religious truth, the rest of mankind are lost in a midnight gloom, — a very melancholy persuasion this, which, if well founded, destroys the value of the Christian revelation, and breaks up the very first principles of natural religion itself. For what sort of a world is this, what the Providence that watches over it, if the great majority of the human race are left, from the cradle to the grave, without guidance and without hope ? However this belief may have been produced, whether it has been expressly taught or not, — although upon this point there can be no question, — the fact that such a faith exists is undeniable. It lies impressed upon the general mind of the Christian world, it is implied in much of our religious teaching and religious phraseology and religious action, that the boundaries of Christendom are the boundaries of all saving religious light, and that beyond all is dark, broken here and there by a few faint glimmerings which only suffice to make the darkness visible. The existence, the wide prevalence, of this notion gives an interest to our present subject, and makes us curious to know what the light of nature enables man to see, what Natural Religion is, what is meant by it.

I am not so presumptuous as to expect to make this matter all clear, certainly not within the limits of this discourse, nor indeed within any limits. My simple desire is to present what I have to say in a manner which, while the subject itself admits of it and Christianity authorizes it, will tend certainly not to diminish, but to strengthen rather, our conviction of the universal providence of Heaven, helping us to see the same impartial care shown for the moral and religious welfare of man universally, as for his physical well-being. I shall endeavour to keep in the light and under the guidance of plain

principles of Christian truth. Without their aid we cannot hope to elucidate this, or any mystery of our condition.

To ascertain how much religious light nature affords, an obvious method would seem to be, to discharge our minds of all the truth with which Christianity has made us familiar, to transport ourselves into the extra-Christian world, and, taking a position upon which no Christian light falls, see what can be seen from that point of view. But this cannot be done; it is impossible; — for the simple reason that we cannot transport ourselves out of ourselves. From the circumstances of our birth and condition, our minds have received hues which have dyed them through and through, which are indelible, and which must color all our conclusions. By no effort can we rid ourselves of the predilections, — I do not say prejudices, for it is no fault or misfortune, but a positive advantage, that it is so, — the predilections and modes of thinking which our education has wrought into our moral and intellectual structure; and therefore it is impossible for us to go back into the Heathen world, and look at things with eyes unused to Christian light. It has been attempted, we all know, and laborious students have returned from their investigations into the religious attainments of antiquity, and laid before the world results which have been received by those who were of their way of thinking as decisive. And certainly, if great labor and learning alone were necessary, the amount of religious truth possessed by the world before Christ would long ago have been ascertained to the satisfaction of all. But the plain fact is, that such investigations into the religious condition of the old world have always been undertaken and pursued for special purposes and under special biases, — to demonstrate, for instance, either the value of Christianity or the necessity of a revelation. And this is enough to vitiate the conclusions arrived at, though supported by never so many facts. Facts are very valuable. Their veracity is proverbial. Still, how much depends upon the way in which they are looked at, and in which they are used! Of the ambiguous nature of the evidence of facts have we not unnumbered instances? How differently, to mention only one example, is modern English history written by Protestants and Catholics, by individuals of opposite political parties! One sees indubitable tokens of progress in events which to another indicate a retrograde movement. So, if facts or quotations from ancient records are adduced to prove

that without Christ men had no religious light, an equally imposing body of facts may be arrayed in support of a different position. However abundant may be the materials for forming a judgment as to the religious condition of man unassisted by Christianity, their significance must depend upon the principles upon which they are selected and interpreted. And besides, it is, I repeat, impossible to project ourselves into the religious life of the Pagan world, without carrying with us principles and modes of thought, derived from our Christian culture, which must greatly affect our results.

But it is not only impossible, it is so far from being either necessary or desirable to take this method of ascertaining what the light of nature teaches, that we have cause for special self-gratulation in the Christian light which we enjoy. So far from excluding this light from our minds, in order to see what can be seen without it, the more fully we are illuminated by the truth, the more thoroughly we are imbued with the spirit of Christianity, the better shall we be qualified to discover what Natural Religion is. For Christianity, new, original, a revelation, as we believe it to be, is nevertheless a fact in nature and a fact of nature. By no sound principle of thought can it be separated and set apart from this great Nature, whose religious import we seek to ascertain. I use this term, nature, in the most comprehensive sense, as synonymous with the whole of being. I do not see how it can be otherwise used, in an inquiry like the present. Christianity is not only a fact in nature, it is the most luminous fact. It does not lead us away from nature, but leads us into it, into the very centre and heart of it, whence all its light radiates, and where alone we can occupy the true point at which all our inquiries, and our religious inquiries especially, are to be commenced. Christianity sends far and wide its illumination over the whole condition of mankind. Yes, it is the very thing for our present purpose. It gives us the very assistance that we need. The Christian religion is to be prized on all accounts, but on no account is it more truly valuable than for the aid it affords in just such inquiries as this. The teachings of Christ throw a light upon our subject, which comes from no other quarter. I turn, therefore, to Christ to tell us what Natural Religion is, what nature teaches. And in his religion I find the religion of nature, a full revelation of Natural Religion. This Christianity plainly is, whatever else and whatever more it may be represented to be, Natural Religion unveiled.

Let me pray your attention to this representation of it. The religion of Christ is, I say, the interpretation of nature. I do not know precisely what idea of our religion they have who are not disposed to accept this view of it; but it sometimes seems to be thought that Christ invented, created truth, gave existence to his religion, or at least that as a revealer of religion he raised the veil from before mysteries which lie wholly out of the sphere of nature, and which sustain no relation to nature, between which and nature there exist no harmony and no connection. Indeed, some have appeared to think that it is of the first importance to the dignity of Christianity that it should be shown to be *non-natural*. Now to my mind nothing is more clear than that, just so far as this notion is carried, the credibility of Christianity is impaired. If we represent the substance or the form of Christianity, that is, either its principles or its facts, as lying beyond nature, independent of nature, and opposite to it, we lose the means of determining its truth, and we cannot distinguish it from a fiction. We are prepared to believe a thing, — nay, we cannot help believing it, — it has our faith, if we see that it is true. But what do we mean when we say that a thing is true? What is truth? Whatever is is true. Truth, then, must harmonize with truth. For whatever is accords with all else that is. All that is is one. Indestructible ties of relationship, binding together the all of being, run in and through and round all things, from the greatest to the least. There is no such thing as cutting out and insulating a single fact or a single atom from the great sum of being. Whatever is real is in unison with all reality; and to demonstrate the truth of any proposed fact or statement is only, in other words, to show how it agrees with itself and with all acknowledged facts and statements, how it fits into the great sum of things and contributes to the unity and consistency of the whole. Of all truth, religious truth, as the highest truth, must, most especially, be all-related. It must harmonize with all truth, giving evidence to all and receiving it, sending demonstrations of its own reality through every portion, through every fibre of nature. Christianity, therefore, is not, cannot be, what it is sometimes represented, I know not what, an addition, an after-thought, a sudden creation of truth, an invention on the spot. It is a revelation of what is, — of course, of what is in nature, and not of any thing out of nature. It is, in fine, as I have said, the religion of nature.

Look at Christianity, and at every point of view it is luminous with the light of nature. Where else can we find such an illustration of nature, so full and so profound? Observe, in the first place, the manner in which Christian truth is given to the world. It is communicated by natural organs, by a human voice, the voice of Jesus of Nazareth. It is depicted in a natural human life, the life of this same Jesus. So far, manifestly, all is in accordance, all is identical with nature.

When we turn, in the next place, to what Jesus taught, to his definitions of human duty, to his representations of the moral government under which man lives, to the precepts and undisputed truths of the New Testament, there is evident throughout a direct appeal and adaptation to nature, to the nature of man, to natural reason and conscience. So perfectly do the words of Christ correspond with the dictates of our natural sense of things, so clear and instantaneous is the echo of nature to his voice, that we cannot distinguish which is which. It is not he that speaks, but nature, the God of nature, that speaks through him. Here, also, the identity of nature and Christianity is obvious to all eyes.

It is this fact of our religion, by the way, its profound harmony with nature, by which it has fastened itself as with rings of adamant to the heart of the world. Christianity has been disguised, hidden, all but buried, under all manner of errors and corruptions. It would seem as if a blind zeal had stimulated the ingenuity of men to exhaustion to sever Christianity from the affections, from the faith, of mankind. But in the coincidence of the teachings of Jesus and of the human heart, nature and Christianity are too closely bound together, too intimately identified, to suffer any such separation, let ignorance, superstition, and bigotry rage as they please. You may annul the laws which hold the physical creation together, you may break up its foundations, leaving not one stone upon another; but Christianity planted thus in nature, and penetrated and filled throughout with the life of nature, can never be abolished. Heaven and earth may pass away, but that can never pass away. For my own part, — let me be allowed still further to remark in passing, — so strong is my conviction on this point, that I cannot sympathize with the apprehensions of those who, at the first blush of new opinions, new modes of thought and expression, immediately begin to fear for the stability of Chris-

tianity. Through its identity with nature, it has withstood the most cunning assaults in times past, and then, too, when it was much farther from being understood than it is now, when it was most unworthily defined and oftentimes unwisely defended. It has passed with triumph through all difficulties ; and all the conflicts in which it has been engaged have resulted in making it better understood, and in showing more clearly its truth. That so it will continue to be, I have not the shadow of a doubt. Understand me ; I use the word Christianity in no vague sense, — I am not thinking only of the moral principles of our religion, the precepts of Christ, the Sermon on the Mount. I have in mind also Christianity as a history. I comprehend in my idea of it the facts of the life of Christ, wonderful and unprecedented as many of those facts are. And Christianity, I say, will baffle all attacks and triumph over all opposition, both as a body of moral truth and as an historical fact, because in both respects it holds so closely to nature, and it is nature.

But to return. I was speaking of the identity of Christianity in its moral instructions with nature. In a general way, this identity, as I have said, is obvious to all. But it is not commonly perceived how far it extends. It extends, I venture to assert, to almost every word that fell from the lips of Christ. It is by no means impossible to substantiate this assertion, although it may not be very easy, because Christ expressed himself in a peculiar phraseology, using modes of speech belonging to his country and his time, — a country far remote, a time long past, and a country and a time very peculiar withal ; and it requires great care lest we confound the perishable garment of his language with the imperishable body of his thought. We must seek the aid of Biblical Criticism, — a science to which, by the way, this University has made no mean contributions, — in separating what is accidental in the instructions of Christ from what is essential. When this separation is once fairly made, then, I say, it may be seen that almost every declaration that came from the lips of Christ admits of being interpreted as the statement of a natural truth, a truth that lay previously written from all eternity in the nature of things. Take, for instances, almost the very first of his words on the record, the Beatitudes. We have here Jewish forms of language, and Jewish forms of thought even, but essentially these benedictions express facts existing in man's na-

ture. Here we have the natural elements of man's blessedness, the fountains of human happiness as they are in nature. Original as this part of the instructions of Christ is, it is no less natural. So, underneath all peculiarities of language, in every thought expressed by Christ, we may discern the quality and the substance of nature. In short, his teachings are statements of natural facts, the truths of natural religion.

There is one thing taught by Christ which claims particular attention, the immortality of the soul. Is this, it may be asked, a natural fact? Does Nature testify to this truth? Is it written legibly in nature that man is an undying being? Unquestionably it is written there, or it is written nowhere. It stands to reason, — every thing justifies us in saying, that, if man were made to live for ever, the impress of that intention must be distinctly visible in his very structure. Is it possible for us to conceive of a greater difference between any two things in nature, than must be apparent between man formed only for the brief duration of this life, and man considered as an imperishable being? The works of nature are all labelled, not with artificial characters, but with natural marks, wrought by the creative Power into their very constitution. It is the office of science to decipher these marks; and thus the nature and purposes of things are ascertained. So minutely is the purpose of its existence written out in the construction of every thing, every animal and every plant, that from a mere fragment of a fossil bone the practised eye is enabled to discover the whole fashion of the animal to which it belonged, its food, its mode and sphere of existence. It cannot be that the soul of man is made to live for ever, and yet that it shows no trace, gives no hint, of so great a destiny.

But our nature does give signs of its immortality, and if they have been disregarded, it is because men, misled by their senses, have listened for the glad tidings of eternal life, not within, but without. They have asked that some one should return from the grave. They have conceived of the eternal world as situated on the other side of the tomb; and with eyes strained in that direction, they have failed to see that it is here, and now, — that they are in it, and that it is in them. In those affections of our nature which only things eternal can satisfy, — truth, justice, and love, — here is the evidence of our immortality, evidence not cognizable by the

understanding through argument, but apprehended and felt through the exercise and living development of those affections. Christ nowhere formally announces another life. He uniformly takes it for granted. To the question, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" he replies by declaring the eternal law of God. "This do," saith he, "and thou shalt *live*," enter into life, eternal life, here and now. Not the portals of the grave, but the love of God and man, — that is the gateway of eternity. As we love God and the right, as we love our neighbour as ourselves, so does this mortal put on immortality, and this corruptible, incorruption.

But further. The truths uttered by Christ are natural, not only in substance, but also in form. Although there is much that is peculiar, much that belongs to his age and nation, still there is a great deal more that belongs to nature in his mode of instruction. Let me pray attention to this consideration. In the fact to which I now refer respecting the teachings of Jesus, it seems to me as if I laid my hand upon the beating heart of Nature, as if I caught the very sound of her breathing.

If the truths uttered by Christ come clad in the costume of a Jewish phraseology, so are they at the same time clothed, under that, in the flesh and blood of Nature. They are expressed in parables, by similitudes. Much is said of the beauty of this characteristic of the teaching of Christ. But is it seen as clearly as it may be seen how the beauty of this mode of instruction all comes from its truth? They are all very beautiful, we say, — these resemblances between the known and the unknown, the visible and the invisible, the physical and the spiritual. But then we do not see, as we may, how truly they exist in nature. We are disposed to regard them, after all, as arbitrary creations of fancy, not real. Now I say that they are real, that there is an actual resemblance between the known and the unknown, that the things which we see are illustrations of the things which we do not see, that the visible signifies and in a manner gives formal and articulate expression to the invisible.

And herein, as in all else, does Christ show himself to be the very Teacher of Nature, — herein is evidence that he was moved by the inspiration of the eternal truth of Nature, — that, being born, as he was, into the spiritual life, having attained to the stature of the beloved Son of God in that life, dwelling, while still in the flesh, in a condition of being as

much exalted above that of other men as heaven is high above the earth, he sought to enlighten us, to give us some glimpses of that higher life, by pointing out such resemblances as exist between that life and this common world with which we are all acquainted. His teachings are never abstract nor abstruse. He invented no new phraseology. He used the ordinary speech of men, and continually does he illustrate the deepest truths by the most familiar facts. Through the known he opens to us the unknown. He directs attention to the most common processes and intimate resemblances between these and the deepest things of nature, the deep things of God. He points to the material creation, and it is no longer opaque, but transparent. We look into it and we look through it, and read the eternal laws of God, flaming in characters not writ with hands.

That the familiar similitudes by which Christ shadows forth to us the religious truths of nature are themselves, as well as the truths they express, matters of fact, — not fanciful, but real, — we are prepared to perceive, when we consider how rational it is to presume beforehand that a resemblance runs through all nature, through all matter and all mind, seeing that all things have proceeded from one Being of absolute perfection. The impress of that wisdom must be stamped upon all things, from the greatest to the least. Let creation be never so diversified, we may still expect that things apparently and actually different will show some likeness; for they are all of one family, the offspring of one great Cause. All bodies and all spirits are fashioned by one hand; and if simplicity, for instance, be a quality of perfection, all things that the Perfect One has made will have the attribute of simplicity, and in this respect be alike, if in no other. If the love of harmony characterize the Creator in one department of his works, we may expect to find it in all. Thus we may presume beforehand that all things, differ as they may apparently and essentially, still are similar, each to all and all to each.

But what we suppose beforehand to be the case, we find upon examination to be actually so. So far as the circle of human knowledge extends, there is a pervading analogy. There are great departments of nature, filled with variety, yet exhibiting throughout the closest resemblances; and all the departments of nature are alike in one respect or another. It is by tracing these resemblances, by classifying in accord-

ance therewith the things with which he becomes acquainted, that man adds to his knowledge. It is through this analogy that genius catches at those splendid conjectures which science toils for years to verify, and which lay bare broad fields of knowledge. Indeed, if this likeness of one thing to another had no existence in nature, where would be the manifestation which we now have of the Divine unity, and how could man ever increase in knowledge? It is safe, then, to presume, in fact we cannot help presuming, that the world of religious truth, which lies indeed wholly out of the sphere of our senses, but wholly within the sphere of Nature, is to be known from the analogy, the likeness, which it bears to this familiar world with which we communicate by our eyes, ears, and hands.

And here again the presumption is justified by the fact. Study the similitudes of Christ, and see that they are not mere fancies, — that they are natural. What a world of bewilderment and wrangling would have been avoided, had the truth of those resemblances which Christ has pointed out been duly marked and reverently appreciated! He compared the progress of religion in the heart to the growth of a plant, and there is a ground for the comparison in the nature of the things compared. Both are gradual, imperceptible. And had men only noted the spiritual significance of the grain, as it grows, from the sowing of the seed to the full corn in the ear, the world would never have been afflicted with the extravagance and folly which have passed for religion.

Again. What a mass of error has gathered round that great fact of nature, the spiritual development of man! and yet how lucid are the brief words of Christ concerning it, — lucid, through the familiar resemblances by which he illustrates it! He calls it first a birth, a being “born again.” And when his hearer fails to understand this comparison, he says, — “Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the spirit.” As if he had said, — “Wonder not when I tell you, you must be born again, as if it were some incredible thing. Consider the air of heaven. It circulates where it pleases. You hear the sound of it; but you cannot tell whence it comes, or whither it goes. So is it with those who are spiritually

born, who enter upon a higher life than that of the flesh. They breathe in an element which quickens their best affections, a spiritual element, which, like the air to the animal frame, is the breath of life to the soul. We do not need to analyze the air, we do not need to know whence it comes or whither it goes, before we can breathe it and live by it. Neither do we need, in order to be born again, to understand how it is that we are born again. When we no longer live in the flesh and its appetites, but find our life in the intellect and the heart, in single obedience to the truth, then, as we know the wind by its blowing, we know that there is a life-giving power in nature like the air, the life-breath of that new condition of being upon which we have entered."

Yet again. When under the similitude of a human parent Christ shadows forth an idea of the Supreme Being which inspires us with the glad confidence of children in a father, there is a likeness between the human sign and Him who is signified thereby. But here we must be careful. The reason why men shrink from all comparison of things human and Divine is, that these comparisons have been carried too far, and pressed too literally and in false directions; and the great God of the world has been belittled by being likened to this insect-creature, this shred, this shadow of existence, man. Infinite, infinite is the distance between us and God. Who that casts a glance into the immeasurable expanse overhead,—who that reads of the overwhelming discoveries of the telescope,—who that looks into his own bosom, and sees how far, far below the sacred idea of absolute right he grovels, does not know that God is infinitely exalted above him? The Divine nature is a stupendous mystery. We can trace no outline of it. It is a dark, impenetrable deep. Still, in that affection which prompts us to love, in the parental affection especially, we have a dim signification of God himself. I make no vainglorious boast; I arrogate nothing for man. This affection of the heart is no creation of man's. It does not depend upon his will. It comes directly from God, as surely as the earth on which we stand. And in parental love we may recognize, as Christ bids us, the living inspiration of the Incomprehensible Spirit. As it is from God, we may know by it, in one respect, what manner of being God is. As in the vast appearances of the physical world we see similitudes, inadequate indeed, but yet real, of Omnipotence, so in parental love we behold a faint and yet a blessed like-

ness of the Infinite Goodness ; and we are no longer atoms of unregarded dust, to be blown away into nothingness by the blind storm of a resistless fate ; but we are children, at home, reposing, in our weakness and even in our sins, in our deepest guilt and in our utmost wretchedness, upon the bosom of Everlasting Mercy.

Once more. The resemblance which Christ points out between the inhabitants of the heavenly kingdom, the everlasting world, and little children, is a matter, not of fancy, but of fact. The theology which swathes man from his very birth in a total and hereditary corruption has hidden from us the unearthly likeness which childhood wears. For my own part, receiving Christ as the Teacher of eternal truth, I feel bound to look with reverence upon the young, if for no other reason than because I believe that he declared that " of such is the kingdom of heaven." Even though my dim eyes could trace no distinct resemblance between the dwellers in the kingdom of God and little children, I should believe, upon this great authority, that the resemblance exists. But I can trace it distinctly enough to see, that, if we would learn what saints and angels are, we must study the young. Who is not ready to pardon the idolatry of the Roman Catholic Church, when he considers how, in bringing the warlike nations of Europe to bow before the image of the Virgin and her child, it breathed the holiest spirit of Nature and of Christ, and taught those barbarous tribes to do homage to the purity of woman, to the divinity of parental love, and the angel innocence of infancy ?

I would not make any indiscriminate claim for childhood. I do not deny that children do wrong, that they disregard and violate the plain convictions of their consciences, even as we do. But then their sins are manifestly the sins of healthy and most excellent natures ; and there is more of hope — there is less of guilt even — in their sins than there is in the artificial, boastful virtues of those who are their elders, and are falsely termed their betters. How artless is childhood even in its arts ! How transparent ! How easily seen through ! When wisely dealt with, children shed the purest tears of penitence that are ever shed on earth. And how full of trust is early childhood ! The child lives and moves and has its being in eternity. It knows nothing of the beginning of life, or of its ending.

" A simple child
That lightly draws its breath,

And feels its life in every limb,
What can it know of death ? ”

“ Over it immortality broods like the day.” But, above all, how absolute and uncompromising and godlike is a child’s sense of right ! He recognizes no limitations to the law of duty. He knows not policy, until he learns it from the evil practices of the world. Repeat to a child the immortal lessons of peace and love which Christ uttered, and he instantly recognizes the very commandments of God, and asks, “ Why, then, do men go to war ? Why do they ill-treat and enslave one another ? ” With a terrible fidelity of application, he turns your instructions directly upon you, and demands, since such is God’s law, why you do thus and so. Children cannot understand, until the world teaches them, how any necessity should interfere to render entire obedience impossible.

In all these respects we may distinguish in them the features of a “ race of heaven,” and learn the deep significance of the command which requires us all to become like little children. Soon, very soon, by our worldliness, by our cowardly compromises, we drag them down from the lofty position which they occupy. Much as is said and done about the instruction, the moral and religious instruction, of the young, it seems to me sometimes that the world is in nothing more busily engaged than in corrupting every child that comes into it. It compels the young to cast away as impracticable abstractions the plainest monitions of duty. It hides from them the wickedness of war by its vain talk about “ famous victories.” It dazzles their eyes with the gaudy trappings of the soldier. It hardens them to the deadly wrong which man inflicts on man, by pleading the way of the world, and a system of things which not God, but man, has devised. And so their wings are clipped, and they are made creatures of earth like ourselves. If we revered childhood as we should, if we distinguished in it the lineaments of the higher life, we should sit like children low at its feet, and the established relation of teachers and children would be reversed, and with the religious poet of our age, the parent would exclaim to his child : —

“ O dearest, dearest child, my heart
For better lore would seldom yearn,
Could I but teach the hundredth part
Of what from thee I learn.”

As it is, amidst the thick steaming corruptions of the world, it is childhood that still keeps some sweetness in it. Though the young soon alight upon the earth, and become earthly like us, yet for a space they hover over us, like angelic ministrants, fanning with white wings the fevered brain of many a sinning man and woman, and sending purifying beams of blessed light in upon our stained and hardened hearts. Even in their inarticulate helplessness, when they first make their appearance here, what springs of tenderness do they cause to break forth in human bosoms ! How mighty is their coming ! Like the angel at Bethesda, they stir the fountain of life, dark with the surrounding shadows of sin, and instantly it receives a healing efficacy. Whether they come or depart, their ministry is alike powerful. Their departure, like their coming, sheds a celestial influence through the whole household, like the broken box of precious perfume poured by Mary upon the head of Jesus. Said not Christ truly, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven" ? Is not the resemblance here indicated existing in the reality of things ?

And so it is with all the similitudes of Christ. They are not arbitrary, but true. Thus truth is communicated to us by nature's own method, showing us the unknown through the known. Employing Christ's organs of speech, Nature syllabled her before-unuttered truths through his lips, and his voice is the very voice of Nature, and he is the everlasting Word of God.

So far the identity of Christianity with Nature will not be questioned. And if Christianity consisted only in the teachings of the New Testament, if these were the whole of it, then it would be universally seen to be a Natural Religion, emphatically the Religion of Nature, and to the New Testament all would turn who seek to know what Nature teaches. But there is another part of Christianity, as truly vital to it as the precepts of Jesus, — the miraculous part of it. Here the presence of Nature is not discerned ; but not because it is not clearly discernible here, under one aspect at least ; but because, growing out of the mechanical theory of nature, a theory of the miracles has gained credence, which demands that this part of Christianity should be regarded as a positive departure from nature, and maintains, that, unless it is so regarded, Christianity has no claim to the authority of a revelation. It is interesting to remark, that, earnestly as the

idea is upheld that the miracles of Christ interrupt the established order of things, it is also explicitly admitted, that, inasmuch as the miracles were wrought for great moral and religious ends, they harmonize with the highest ends, the highest order of nature ; and thus it is confessed in part that the supernatural in Christianity corresponds with the natural.

But I have no desire, nor is it essential to my present purpose, to enter upon debatable ground. I wish only to express my deliberate and very deep conviction, that the prevalent theory of the miracles to which I have referred is as unscriptural as it is unphilosophical. It comes, as I have intimated, from that mechanical theory of nature, of which the Scriptures know absolutely nothing, and which, as Dugald Stewart remarks, assumes for the explanation of nature the mechanical forces which are the very things to be explained. This theory of the universe has been assumed so confidently, and pushed so far, that all sacredness has vanished out of nature, and we have here around us only a great machine ; and the melancholy, but not surprising, spectacle is presented, of men of science frequently, and of astronomers especially, great astronomers, astronomers, who should be of all men the most devout, falling into the folly of irreligion, into the madness of atheism. Not so, not so was it with the holy men whose thoughts still breathe and whose words still burn on the pages of the Bible. In their eyes all things shone and blazed with the Divine Presence, and all nature was supernatural. To them every plain conviction of their own consciences was a direct revelation from God, a "Thus saith the Lord," and to them likewise all revelation was natural ; there was nothing else so profoundly natural, so clearly in harmony with nature.

I turn to that aspect of the supernatural in Christianity, which, as I just now remarked, is indisputably natural. Look at the miracles of Christ in their relation to him personally. In this connection, extraordinary as they are, and lying, as they do, far out of the range of human experience, I see in them the unveiled face, I seem to penetrate into the inmost spirit of Nature. That the miracles of Christ are his, his acts, will not be disputed by any who profess to believe in their reality. They were, in an obvious sense, wrought by him. As his acts, then, they may be viewed as illustrations of his personal character, expressions of his spirit ; and as such they are one with him, just as the branches, the flowers,

and fruits of a plant are one with its root. Look at the record now, and tell me, did Christ breathe more naturally than he healed the sick, gave sight to the blind, and raised the dead? It is saying very little, to say, that, in the doing of these things, he exhibits nothing of the manner of a vulgar wonder-worker. I know not where else to look for so fine an illustration of the simplicity and majesty of Nature. Here we may behold the express image of the God of Nature. Never does Christ speak and act more manifestly from a consciousness of native power than when he is doing these great works, and yet the heavens above us are not more serene. It has been said that the miracles of Christ are not to be thought much of because *he* did not think much of them; as if this very circumstance, that he did not think much of them, — that he never wondered at them, nor was moved by the wonder of excited multitudes to imagine that he had done any thing very surprising, — as if this very fact did not reveal the truth of his miracles, and stamp them as the choicest productions of Nature; for when was Nature ever caught pausing to admire herself, to wonder at the achievements of her own power? In fine, I can no otherwise and no better characterize the greatness of Christ as a doer of miracles, than by saying that in this respect he is perfectly natural.

But what manner of man was this, that even disease and death obeyed him? He stands alone, distinguished from all mankind by the original gifts of his nature. There has never been any other endowed like him. But then it does not follow, by any means, that the existence of such a being is a departure from nature. I hold, on the contrary, that such a creation is in perfect accordance with the whole spirit, genius, and order of nature, that it is a natural fact. Nature has no law that forbids the appearance of a being possessing we know not what new and extraordinary power. There is no natural order that must be broken through to admit such a being into existence. On the contrary, even geology teaches us, that it is the grand tendency of Nature to improve upon her own productions. By what tremendous throes, confounding land and sea, has the solid globe been rent, that man might appear, man, this wonder of creation, who comes crowned with glory, bearing the sceptre of time and space, and covered with the insignia of universal dominion! Do we not see and know that the whole creation groaneth and trav-

aileth together in pain, waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God ?

But if this way of thinking should become general, if men are taught to believe that it is the purpose of Nature to unfold we know not what power through human nature, we shall have individuals, you say, rising up and laying claim to all sorts of extravagant gifts. Very possibly. But it does not follow, because such claims are preferred, and because all religions pretend to miracles, that these pretensions must be admitted. Still Nature has her own inimitable way of doing things. And so long as Nature is distinguishable from art and from artifice, we shall have the means of determining in regard to all miracles, past, present, and to come, whether they be true or false. We have a test, the test of Nature ; and the miracles of Jesus stand this test. They challenge comparison with the acknowledged works of God, with the sun, moon, and stars. They are connected by a living, natural tie with the godlike character of Christ. And they are not only in full unison with that, they are essential to its completeness, which they could not be, — there would be an utter incongruity between them and the sublime being of Jesus, — were they either fables or frauds.

Thus have I attempted to harmonize Natural and Revealed Religion, — to identify Christianity as the religion of Nature, not only in its principles, but also in its history, its form. If the attempt should seem to be a bold one, let its boldness find some extenuation in the fact, that I have tried to loosen the knot, not by cutting, but by untying it. The tendency of the view which I have presented is not to shake, but to confirm, faith in Christianity as an historical fact, inasmuch as it summons all Nature as a witness to its historical truth. And it is important, not merely for the sake of persons, which is a matter of small moment comparatively, but for the simple sake of truth, that the method of reconciling Nature and Revelation now proposed should not be confounded with the summary method which they adopt who make Christianity natural by lopping off the supernatural from it at a blow. With this mode of proceeding, so congenial to the historical skepticism of the day, the method of harmonizing Nature and Christianity now suggested is so far from agreeing, that it asks your attention as affording an impregnable defence of historical Christianity against that short way of

solving all difficulty, which so many now-a-days are inclined to adopt.

But this is not all that it does. By establishing Christianity as a fact in the course of nature, as the one all-enlightening, all-harmonizing fact, it baptizes and consecrates the whole philosophy of nature in the name of Christianity. Opposed to the mechanical system, which either renders the miracles incredible, or puts them aside as anomalies and exceptions, it demands the construction of a new, spiritual, Christian theory of nature, the life of Christ being the chief corner-stone. And the immeasurable universe is no longer a great workshop, crowded with machinery, but the house of prayer, the gate of heaven.

Turning now to Christianity as the point whence the full light of nature comes, we find, as I said at the outset, that it illuminates the whole condition of mankind. You can as easily confine the natural light of the sun within limits, as inclose within any boundaries the illumination of Christianity. It unites with all the other lights of nature to show us that all men of every age and clime are in communication with an all-ministering spirit of truth and goodness, free, universal as the light and wind of heaven, under all forms of religion, and at every stage in the history of man, brooding over the human soul, warming, quickening, and unfolding it into life. This same fact may be expressed in many different ways ; but under all forms of speech, it remains one and the same, namely, that to every human being, by virtue of his being human, all the religion is possible which is necessary. This Christianity implies and takes for granted throughout. Christ addressed himself to an ignorant and narrow-minded people, inflamed by the coarsest imaginations, enslaved by the strongest prejudices, and yet he spoke of justice, and mercy, and purity of heart, as of things of which his hearers already had familiar apprehension. He appealed to good men and true, not doubting that there were such, and to whatsoever of truth and goodness existed in the most depraved. In all he saw some religious life. And he declared again and again, in various modes of speech, that he that doeth the will of God, so far as that will is known to him, possesses and improves, by natural consequence, the faculty of distinguishing truth and falsehood. And when we are enlightened by Christianity, when we are in sympathy with Christ, we instantly perceive, of a truth, that, as in

every nation men may fear God and work righteousness, so "in every nation every man who does fear God and work righteousness is accepted with him." By its letter and its spirit, Christianity brings us straight to this conclusion. To this conclusion, in so many words, the Apostle Peter came, and he was a Jew. From his birth, all things had combined to impress deeply upon him the religious belief, that his own people were the only people that God cared for, that all other nations were outcasts, dogs in the comparison, that it was unlawful for him even to eat with them. And yet he came to see that God careth for all, for the whole family of man. It is true, he was very slow in coming to it; and after the direct personal intercourse he had had with Jesus of Nazareth, after all the lessons of love and charity to which he had listened, after all that he had seen of that life and death of love, after the ineffable sacredness which must have been poured like a halo round the idea of Christ by the awful fact of his resurrection, after the Apostle had been for some time engaged in the discharge of his apostolic office, he still, after all this, doubted whether it were right for him to eat with a man of another nation. But the truth rose upon him at last, and he beheld a gracious Providence watching over the whole world. That it was so long and slow in dawning upon him only shows what an Egyptian darkness of Jewish pride rested on his mind; while the fact that the truth did break upon him at last shows how mighty the spirit of Christianity is, and how pointedly it teaches, how strongly it breathes, the universal love of God.

But it may be asked, Why, if the full light of religious truth shines only in Christ, — if he first revealed the complete religion of Nature, — why was this revelation so long withheld? Why is it not now universal as the light of day? I reply, that, if Christianity be recognized as a fact, we must permit Providence, without questioning on our part, to fulfil its purposes at its own times and in its own ways. I cannot entertain any questions concerning the fitness of the time of Christ's appearance in the world. But if I were to ask any questions of this sort, I should wonder that Christ came so soon, rather than that he came so late. For here we are, well advanced into the nineteenth century of the Christian era, and around the cross, that symbol of the patient endurance and divine forgiveness of injuries, great nations, calling themselves Christian, stand armed to the teeth, and covered

with human blood. For ages the simple Christian principle of human brotherhood has been proclaimed, and yet at this very hour this great Christian empire stands with blood-stained sword in hand, and with foot planted on the neck of the African, and invokes the sanctities of religion and law to vindicate the wrong. Why talk we of our Christian light? "He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness *even until now*, and walketh in darkness and knoweth not whither he goeth, because the darkness hath blinded his eyes." I repeat, if we find any difficulty about the time of Christ's coming, we may well wonder why he came so early, not why he came so late, seeing that his religion is not yet understood, not yet received, not yet, properly speaking, given. But all wonder is out of place, except at the unutterable bounty of God. For since Christianity came in the course of nature and of Providence, as to raising any questions about its place in that course, — we might as well ask why the fruit does not come before the blossom, or the blossom before the stem. Truth is given to men in as full measure and as fast as they are able to receive it. To those who have is given. And this principle, which Christ himself taught, is illustrated in the appearance of Christianity itself, which came as soon as there were only the fewest prepared to appreciate it, and the Christian religion is a fact and an era and a step in the natural progress and development of mankind.

All the confusion of thought that exists in relation to the limited diffusion of Christian light arises from the radical error of supposing that the culture of the understanding precedes the culture of the heart, that there must be religious knowledge before there can be religious life. Directly the reverse is the course of nature. And directly the reverse is most explicitly taught by Christ. The child's heart is touched by the beaming looks of maternal love before one ray has penetrated to his reason, and it is through the heart that the understanding is rendered active and becomes enlightened. If it is true that they who see God become pure in heart, it is first true that the pure in heart see God. The language of Christ is, not "if any man knows, he will do," but "if any man will *do*, he shall know." "He that doeth truth cometh to the light." Doing the truth is to come to the light. Through the inversion of this great evangelical principle, Christianity has been first and chiefly

regarded as an intellectual light, as a system of abstract truth, — in a word, as a creed, written or unwritten, and not as a spirit of life, — which it is, the breathing of God, quickening the life that is in man and so kindling light. And Christ is everywhere represented as if he came, not first to inspire the world with the love and life of righteousness, but to promulgate certain doctrines. Now I say that Christianity is not a form of worship, nor a form of words, nor a form of thought even, but a spirit and a life. Christ taught no doctrines, in the ordinary sense of the word. By a doctrine is commonly understood something which is only to be *believed*, and in the belief of which there is a religious value, apart from all relation to life. With doctrines thus defined, with articles of mere faith, Christ had nothing whatever to do. The term doctrine, as it occurs in our common version of the New Testament, may be exchanged for “teaching” or “instruction” in all cases, I believe, without injury to the sense, and in some instances with advantage to it. It is true, Christ required men to have faith in him, but it was faith of such a sort that he said, — “He that believeth in me believeth not in me, but in Him that sent me.” It was faith in God, in right, which is the life of life. Christ did not live to establish a creed, but he came and spoke words which were spirit. And brief as was his stay on earth, he told his friends that he must depart to give room for the true spirit, which was already in them, and which would lead them into the knowledge of all things.

Accepting Christianity in this character, we may see, that under all forms of language and religion, amidst the thickest clouds of barbarism and in the lowest depths of moral degradation, religious life, if not actual, is possible, — that wherever a spirit of goodness breathes ever so faintly and fitfully, religion is there, — nay, that there may be, that there is, “a soul of good in things evil.” However confused may be the thoughts of the mind, the “law of the spirit of life” may be illustrated in the heart. — In the vicinity of the city where I reside stands one of the most splendid edifices in the land, devoted to the protection and education of the orphan children of the State of Pennsylvania. This institution has been built by the fortune, and bears the name, of one whose long life was a steady course of rare commercial success. By his last will, devoting his immense wealth to the unprotected, he directed that there should be no relig-

ious instruction given to the objects of his munificent charity. How a community professing Christianity and religion could accept the trust under such a condition, I have never been able clearly to see. But this by the way; I wish here merely to remark that the testator has evidently sought to exclude religion altogether from his college for orphans. And it would seem that he regarded religion as a morbid affection, a disease, and a disease so contagious withal that he orders in his will that no minister of religion, of any name or denomination, shall be permitted to set foot within the precincts of the institution. That he greatly erred, that he was all in the dark in his ideas of religion, I believe. But however vague and erroneous may have been the perceptions of his understanding, we see that he was animated by a great humane purpose; and that magnificent structure stands there, illustrating the very words of the New Testament where it saith that "to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction" is one of the first great offices of "pure and undefiled religion." We have reason to believe that Stephen Girard was inspired with the idea of being a father to the fatherless. To the realization of his idea he consecrated his wealth, and thus the life of religion, the spirit of Christianity, was manifested in him.

Christianity has been made the occasion of the bitterest exclusiveness, but wholly without reason; for if there is any one thing for which we should most especially prize it, it is, that, shedding upon us the full light of nature and of truth, it shows us all mankind included under one great religious denomination to which all other denominations are subordinate, as brethren of one family, members of one immortal household, whose head and whose Father is God.

ART. IV. — DR. PAYSON AND HIS WRITINGS.*

It is now within a few months of twenty years since Dr. Payson's death. One of the most distinguished ministers

* *Memoir, Select Thoughts, and Sermons of the late Rev. Edward Payson, D. D., Pastor of the Second Church in Portland.* Compiled by REV. ASA CUMMINGS, Editor of the Christian Mirror. Portland: Hyde, Lord, & Duren. 1846. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 606, 608, 603.

of his day, he is still remembered with gratitude and affection by many who attended on his preaching and enjoyed the benefit of his pastoral care. A shining light in the church here below, many friendly eyes now gaze, reverent and delighted, at his star in the heavens. Not long after his decease a volume of his sermons was published. Two years later, a highly interesting and instructive memoir of him appeared. This was soon followed by a second and third volume of sermons ; and these by a miniature volume of his "Thoughts," prepared for the press by his daughter. These are all now published, with several important additions, in three large volumes, of uniform size and appearance. The numerous friends of Dr. Payson cannot fail to be gratified with the indication, which the call for this beautiful edition of his Life and Works affords, of the grateful remembrance in which he is still held by the religious community, and of the stability of his well-earned reputation as a Christian minister. And even those who were strangers to him, and who find little in his posthumous writings to awaken either their sympathy or their admiration, will be pleased at the evidence which the appearance of these volumes furnishes, that the labors of a faithful and self-denying minister are not speedily forgotten ; and that long after his voice is silent, he may continue to speak, in acceptable words, to his fellow-men. We welcome the publication in its present form as an interesting and valuable contribution to our religious literature. Though differing widely from the theological views which they present, we welcome the sermons as affording a good sample of the Calvinistic preaching in New England twenty or thirty years ago ; and, though the reading of it has filled us with a profound melancholy, we welcome the Memoir as a well-written, candid, and authentic history of a life sincerely devoted to the work of the ministry, and for many remarkable traits deserving particular attention. We think we may render a service to many of our readers, into whose hands the Memoir is not likely to fall, by giving them here some account of the life, and especially of the religious experience, of this eminent divine.

Edward Payson was born at Rindge, New Hampshire, July 25, 1783. His father was the minister of that town ; one of the strong men of his generation ; much and widely respected ; an astute theologian ; a man, we infer, of austere manners, but fervent piety ; and withal, a faithful, exemplary,

and revered pastor. His mother, of the same family name, was a woman of uncommon qualifications for the position she was called to occupy. With a well-cultivated mind and a heart naturally rich in sweet affections, which were purified into heavenly loveliness by the discipline of Providence and the grace of the holy spirit, she was admirably fitted to be the religious guide of her children, to train their hearts to the love of virtue, and to instruct them in "the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven." And this her appointed duty appears to have been also her favorite work. Edward was admitted to her intimate and most unreserved confidence. The depths of her heart, where Jehovah was enshrined, lay open to his eye. And to this maternal love he returned a reverence the most profound, a docility the most filial, an affection the most simple, which continued, not merely through the years of his youth, but, with increasing beauty, through those of his mature life, till the end of her days. From his earliest childhood his mother looked on him fondly and hopefully, solicitous for the cultivation of his mind and his future respectability, but much more that he might be a child of God; and not failing to make her solicitude holy by baptizing it with her prayers. All her thoughts, instructions, plans, hopes, had reference to this single end. And not wholly in vain, it would seem; for he early gave signs of a serious disposition; became inquisitive concerning the facts of religion; "was more or less affected by his condition as a sinner"; "never," as his intimate friends had reason to believe, "neglected secret prayer while a resident in his father's family"; and "by consent of all sustained the reputation of a magnanimous, honorable, generous youth." And we do not hesitate to add, the doubts of others and the sin of Adam to the contrary notwithstanding, that he was a *religious* youth; and his sagacious mother, it seems, thought so too. But his father had a different rule of judging, and demanded more evidence. He could not think of conferring on him the advantages of a public education till better satisfied on this point. "To give you a liberal education while destitute of religion," said he, "would be like putting a sword into the hands of a madman!" Rather sharp language, considering how good a boy Edward was! But the father was resolute. He could not send his son to college till he should give some better "evidence"; and so he was kept waiting and waiting, "till he was fitted to join the Sopho-

more class ; when, all objections *being waived*, he entered Harvard College, at an advanced standing, at the Commencement in 1800, about the time he completed his seventeenth year." It is well to bear in mind that up to this time the desires of his father had not been gratified. Edward had given no sufficient evidence of an interest in religion ; although " his mother, in subsequent years, was inclined to the belief that he was converted in childhood."

In college young Payson did not particularly distinguish himself, but maintained a good standing. At his first appearance there, " you would have taken him," writes a classmate, " for an unpolished country lad, exceedingly modest, unassuming, and reserved in his manners." He was " a great reader " ; not neglecting his lessons, however, in order to lounge in the library, or to acquire by books foreign to his regular studies what is called " general information " ; which commonly means a little of every thing, without value. Towards the latter part of his course, he rose much in the estimation of the government and of his classmates, appearing to them " a young man of correct morals, amiable disposition, and respectable talents." With this reputation he received his first degree, his character retaining all the simplicity and pureness that belonged to it before he left the calm seclusion of Rindge and the hallowing influences of his father's house. He has passed the ordeal of the university without harm to his moral nature ; and honorably enough, though without marked distinction, as a scholar. He has completed his course ; but is he yet converted ? His ever-vigilant father can see no sufficient " evidence " ; and his fond mother is obliged to fall back upon the hopes of his childhood, and find her comfort in remembering that " he often wept under the preaching of the gospel at three years old," and in other indications, to us far more convincing, that from his cradle he had been in the family of God, sanctified from his birth, and religious as soon as he began to comprehend what religion meant. Her maternal insight, guided by affection and memory, penetrated where she could not easily carry the gauge of her creed, to the salient elements of his soul, now grown strong and manly, and in their earliest visible expression perceived traces of heavenly beauty, of a divine life.

Graduating at the Commencement in 1803, Mr. Payson was immediately engaged to take the charge of an academy

then recently established in Portland, — the theatre, as it proved, of his future labors, trials, and successes as a Christian minister. In this vocation he remained for the space of three years, discharging its duties conscientiously, with considerable skill, and, on the whole, “sustaining a good reputation as an instructor.” During the first part of this engagement, our attention is drawn to the fact, that he entered with a good deal of interest into the refined pleasures of social life ; enjoyed visiting ; was himself very agreeable as a companion ; and “indulged in such amusements as were considered reputable, if not orthodox, with a gust as exquisite as their most hearty devotee.” This course, however, came at length to be regarded by himself as unsuitable to one looking forward to the ministry as a profession ; whilst, doubtless, it afforded to many others ample proof that he had no true life in him. Turning from this course somewhat abruptly, he passed at once to the opposite extreme ; withdrew wholly from company ; dreaded an invitation to a social party ; loved solitariness ; became silent, abstracted, anxious, and much devoted to religious exercises. And here is seen, we think, the beginning of that change in his feelings and in the habits of his life, which in its progress made him by turns the most wretched and the happiest of men ; which gave him one day wormwood and gall to drink, and the next pure water from the fountains of heaven, — a change, as much as any that occurs in life, self-induced, and yet, viewed in the light of its consequences, eminently providential.

But notwithstanding this change, there was one spot, one circle, out of himself and yet a part of himself, which he did not give up, and could not forget. Thither from his serious studies “beautiful regards” were constantly turned. Still streamed forth towards the sweet and genial home of his childhood affections, simple and fresh as in earlier days, to enliven his self-imposed retirement, and tinge with the soft glow of humanity the shadows of his cloistered religion. Blessed affections, how near divine ! How pure and bright they burn in the golden morning, how calm and holy they burn on in the shady evening, of life, when other ties are riven, and sympathies are chilled, and little is left for the heart but home and heaven ! O, forbid them not a place in the sanctuary of religion ! there let them abide, serving-priests of a father-God who calls man his child and heaven

the Father's house. Of all the traits of Mr. Payson's extraordinary character, none pleases us more than the juvenile tenderness and tenacity of affection with which he clings to the old homestead at Rindge and the happy family he had left there ; his strong and gushing filial and fraternal love, unchanged amidst all trials, in joy or sorrow never disturbed, never for a moment chilled. The letters written by him to his venerable parents, and to a sister deservedly dear to him, are among the most agreeable memorials of him which these volumes present. Those to his parents, particularly, are written with that felicitous union of deference and familiarity, respect and freedom, sobriety and playfulness, delicacy of sentiment and unreserved frankness of expression, which are the charm of that kind of correspondence. Did our space permit, we should gladly enrich our pages with many of these letters. We have room, however, but for one or two, which we select, not as the best specimens by any means, but as best illustrating his general character.

"February 9, 1806.

"You need be under no apprehension, my dear mother, that my present mode of living will render the manner of living in the most rustic parish disagreeable. On the contrary, I shall be glad of the exchange, as it respects diet ; for I find it no easy matter to sit down to a table profusely spread with dainties, and eat no more than nature requires and temperance allows. And I should take infinitely more satisfaction in the conversation of a plain, unlettered Christian, than in the unmeaning tattle of the drawing-room, or the flippant vivacity of professed wits. What gives me most uneasiness, and what I fear will always be a thorn in my path, is too great a thirst for applause. When I sit down to write, I perpetually catch myself considering, not what will be most useful, but what will be most likely to gain praise from an audience. If I should be unpopular, it would, I fear, give me more uneasiness than it ought ; and if — though I think there is little reason to fear it — I should in any degree be acceptable, what a terrible blaze it would make in my bosom ! What a temptation this will be to suppress, or lightly touch upon, those doctrines which are most important, because they are disagreeable to most persons ! I should at once give up in despair, had I nothing but my own philosophy to depend upon ; but I hope and trust I shall be enabled to conquer it." — Vol. I. pp. 33, 34.

"April 2, 1806.

"My dear Mother, — I have just received your last paquet, and am so rejoiced I can hardly sit still enough to write. They

were not half long enough to satiate me, and I am more hungry than before. Yesterday, in order to appease my hunger, I read over all the letters I have received this year past, to my great satisfaction. You must not expect method nor legible writing. These qualifications are necessary in a billet of compliments, but in a letter to friends I despise them. However, if my good friends are fond of them, and prefer them to the rapid effusions of affection that will hardly wait the pen's motion, I will soon write a letter that shall be as cold and as splendid as an ice-palace. You may usually observe my handwriting is much better at the beginning than at the end of my letters; and this happens because I gather warmth as I write. A letter to a friend written with exact care is like — ‘Madam, I hope I have the pleasure of seeing you in very good health’ — addressed to a mother on meeting her after a year's absence.” — Vol. 1. pp. 34, 35.

In another letter he speaks of a classmate, who had commenced preaching, calling to see him and relating that an old and very pious tutor, having lately lost a much-loved wife, while the bell was tolling for her funeral wrote to a friend, — “The bell is now tolling for my wife's funeral; yet I am happy, happy beyond expression.” This, his classmate remarked, “was a sure proof of a very weak or very insensible mind.” Upon which Mr. Payson observes of his classmate, — “It is needless to add, that he is an Arminian”; and proceeds, “I daily see more occasion to be convinced that the Calvinistic scheme is, must be, right, but I cannot wonder so few embrace it. *So long as the reasonings of the head continue to be influenced by the feelings of the heart, the majority will reject it.*” We think so, too; and do not fear to assert that the fact admitted in the last sentence quoted weighs a thousandfold more against the Calvinistic scheme than the happiness of the good old tutor under the loss of his wife in its favor.

The three years of Mr. Payson's preceptorship at Portland constitute a very important part of his life, being the part in which his views and feelings took that especial form which determined the course of his future action, and fixed the peculiar color and tone of his efforts as a minister. Having made choice of his profession, and being impressed by the contemplation of its great responsibilities, an evident change, as we have seen, came over him. From a blameless, calm, good-tempered, social young man, agreeable in all circles, he became solemn, retired, contemplative, averse

to social intercourse, spending most of his time, when not employed in school, in trying to digest the tough and stringy theology of the Calvinists, in lamenting his inability to bring his heart into conformity and subjection to that standard of faith, in bewailing the hideous depravity which he discovered in himself, and which became more appalling the more he exerted himself to overcome it, and in solitary, trembling, wrestling — sometimes, too, rapturous — prayers ; exercises which, with the intensity he gave to them, produced an unhealthy excitement of his nervous system, disturbed the equilibrium of his physical and moral powers, and laid the foundation for that unnatural, irregular, spasmodic religious action, which rendered him at times the most wretched of men, and which resulted in his premature death.

The friends of Dr. Payson have never been able — and this has perplexed them not a little — to satisfy themselves as to the exact date of his conversion. Neither the day, the month, nor the year are they agreed in. His beloved mother, as we have seen, hoped he had been born again in early childhood ; others thought that the death of a brother soon after he went to Portland, which affected him deeply, might have been the selected occasion ; his room-mate, since a minister of the gospel, thinks that “ he experienced religion before entering college, but, owing to his peculiar situation while there, became a backslider ” ; and another classmate, “ whose speculative views of religion are supposed to differ from those of his departed friend,” believes that “ the important change took place gradually, not from any sudden or overpowering impressions.” In this last opinion we fully concur. We have no doubt that the change, if such it should be called, began at the moment when he finally resolved to become a minister ; that from that time he became more addicted to religious reading and theological study and impassioned prayer ; that, as the months wore away, his interest in religion grew absorbing ; the conflicts between his natural sensibilities and tastes on the one side, and his doctrinal belief on the other, strenuous and bitter ; his self-condemnation and inward agony for sin, more and more severe ; and his communion with Christ and God, — borne upward on the wings of a swift and eagle-eyed imagination, — often sweet, fervent, enrapturing, — the beatitude of exultant piety.

On the first of September, 1805, about two years pre-

vious to his settlement in the ministry, Mr. Payson made a public profession of religion, uniting himself with the church in Rindge, while on a visit at his father's, during one of his quarterly vacations. Some idea may be formed of the exercises, struggles, fears, hopes, and rejoicings which he experienced in this pregnant epoch of his life, by a few quotations from his correspondence and diary. In a letter to his mother, bearing date April 20, 1805, he writes : —

“What a disgrace to me, that, with such rare and inestimable advantages, I have made no greater progress! However, thanks to the fervent, effectual prayers of my righteous parents, and the tender mercies of my God upon me, I have reason to hope that the pious wishes breathed over my infant head are in some measure fulfilled; nor would I exchange the benefits which I have derived from my parents for the inheritance of any monarch in the universe. I feel inclined to hope that I am progressing, though by slow and imperceptible degrees, in the knowledge of divine things.” — Vol. 1. pp. 46, 47.

October 29, he wrote : —

“These wordly comforts are nothing to the serenity and peace of mind with which I am favored, and the happiness arising from love, gratitude and confidence.”

Some weeks after this : —

“I did not intend to say another word about my feelings; but I must, or else cease writing. I am so happy, that I cannot possibly think nor write of any thing else. Such a glorious, beautiful, consistent scheme for the redemption of such miserable wretches! Such infinite love and goodness joined with such wisdom! I would, if possible, raise my voice so that the whole universe, to its remotest bounds, might hear me, if any language could be found worthy of such a subject.” — Vol. 1. p. 51.

Yet within a few days we find him saying : —

“Though I have experienced many and great comforts, yet I am at times almost discouraged. My heart seems to be a soil so bad, that all labor is thrown away upon it; for, instead of growing better, it grows worse. What a wearisome task, or rather, conflict, it is, to be always fighting with an enemy whom no defeats can weaken or tire!” — Vol. 1. p. 59.

Again : —

“I know not what to do. On one hand, the arguments in favor of Calvinism are strong; and, what is more to the point, I feel that most of them must be true; and yet there are difficulties, strong

difficulties, in the way. I care very little about them as it concerns myself; but to think that so many of mankind must be miserable *strikes me with disagreeable feelings.* — Vol. I. p. 55.

Disagreeable feelings! Mr. Payson was young then, — his Calvinism in the gristle; let it harden a few years, and then see how complacently the eternal misery of “so many of mankind” will be viewed.

“I wonder not,” he adds, “that the unregenerate are so bitterly opposed to these doctrines and their professors, nor that they appear to them as the effects of blindness and superstition. . . . I should make poor work at preaching in my present state of mind, for I could neither advance such doctrines nor let them alone. Thus I am perplexed. I feel that they are true, yet seem to know it is impossible they should be so. I never would meddle with them, were I not, in some measure, obliged to by the profession I have chosen. I almost long for death, that the apparent contradictions may be reconciled.” — Vol. I. pp. 55, 56.

We have already referred to Mr. Payson’s retirement from society. On this point he writes: —

“After long doubting the propriety, and even lawfulness, of mixing at all in society where duty does not call, and after smarting a number of times for indulging myself in it, — more, however, through fear of offending than from any pleasure I find in it, — I am at length brought to renounce it entirely.” — Vol. I. p. 56.

“Most of my acquaintances,” he says in another letter, “consider me, as near as I can guess, but a kind of hypocrite, who must, as a student in divinity, preserve a decent exterior, in order to be respected. . . . One thing only I wish not to be thought, and that is what is commonly called a rational Christian, an epithet which is very frequently bestowed on young candidates, and which is almost synonymous with no Christian. Liberal divines are pretty much of the same character.” — Vol. I. p. 61.

We give one further extract relating to what he deemed his besetting sins. The letter which contains it is addressed to his mother.

“It seems to me,” he writes, “one of the worst of the hellish offspring of fallen nature, that it should have such a tendency to pride, and, above all, spiritual pride. How many artifices does it contrive, to hide itself! If at any time I am favored with clearer discoveries of my natural and acquired depravity and hatefulness in the sight of God, and am enabled to mourn over it, in

comes Spiritual Pride with, 'Ay, this is something like ! this is holy mourning for sin ; this is true humility.' If I happen to detect and spurn at these thoughts, immediately he changes his battery, and begins : — ' Another person would have indulged those feelings, and imagined he was really humble, but you know better ; you can detect and banish pride at once, as you ought to do.' My other chief besetting sin, which will cut out abundance of work for me, is fondness for applause. When I sit down to write, this demon is immediately in the way, prompting to seek for such observations as will be admired, rather than such as will be felt and have a tendency to do good." — Vol. 1. p. 62.

This account of himself is as graphic as it was true. Spiritual pride is, perhaps, the most insidious and dangerous form of sin to which the zealous and enthusiastic in religion are exposed ; and it is not strange if Mr. Payson failed either to elude or wholly to subdue it at any period of his religious career ; especially when it is remembered how much there was both in the peculiarities of his faith and in the influences of his position to favor its approaches and feed its appetite.

We introduce here a few extracts from his diary, to show how very variable, according to his own testimony, were his religious feelings at this period of his life.

" Feb. 5, 1806. For this fortnight past, I have enjoyed a tolerable share of assistance, but nothing transporting. Slow progress."

" Feb. 8. There is no vice of which I do not see the seeds in myself, and which would bear fruit, did not grace prevent. Notwithstanding this, I am perpetually pulling the mote out of my brother's eye."

" Feb. 9. Of late I have none of those rapturous feelings which used to be so transporting ; but I enjoy a more calm and equable degree of comfort, and though slowly, yet surely, find myself advancing."

Yet the next day but one, —

" Feb. 11. A very dull day, — almost discouraged ; yet I hope the experience I gain of my utter inability to think so much as a good thought will have a tendency to mortify pride."

And, —

" Feb. 16. Very dull and lifeless in the morning. Made a resolution to restrain my temper, and the next moment broke it. Felt more lively at meeting. In the afternoon and evening was remarkably favored. I felt such an overwhelming sense of God's amazing goodness and my own unworthiness, as I never had before."

"Feb. 22. I tasted much sweetness in the former part of the evening; but in the latter part I was favored with such displays of Divine goodness as almost forced me to exclaim, Lord, stay thine hand!"

"Feb. 24. A great falling off from the enjoyments and life of yesterday."

"Feb. 26. I drag along without advancing."

"Feb. 28. Was astonishingly dead and wandering."

"March 3. In the evening, partly by my own fault, and partly by accident, got entangled in vain company. Afterwards was in most exquisite distress of mind."

"April 26. Was much favored in my approaches to the throne of grace."

But, —

"May 4. It is now long since I have enjoyed any of those sweet seasons of communion with God which used to be my chief happiness."

Still, —

"May 18. I think I was never so favored in prayer for so long a period in my life."

"July 18. Sat up till two o'clock at night talking with Mr. — on religious topics. Found he had more to say in defence of Unitarianism than I could have supposed."

"July 27. Was alarmed with respect to my state by reading Edwards on the Affections; but obtained comfort and assurance by prayer." — Vol. i. pp. 65–72.

This testimony may suffice to prove that the religious life of Mr. Payson had not yet a strong and stable foundation; that the pulse of his soul was far from being regular and healthy; that he enjoyed at no time "a calm and equable degree of comfort"; but was commonly either in a fever or a chill, and always seeking the pleasure of exalted emotions more than the peace of a sound frame of Christian goodness, or that masculine vigor of the religious sentiments which knows no drooping and permits no repining.

In August, 1806, Mr. Payson gave up the charge of the academy and retired to his father's, for the better pursuit of his theological studies. We should be glad, had we room, to exhibit to our readers some details of his religious experience during the ten months of his sojourn in the quiet seclusion of his native town, and under the shadow of the paternal roof; though this is rendered, in a great degree, unnecessary, by their general resemblance to those already presented.

As we pursue them, the shadows of his creed are seen gradually gathering round his heart. We behold him still striving, fasting, praying; still weeping, despairing, exulting; now revelling in the joy which his imagination, kindled by religion, conveyed to his breast, and now shrinking in agony from the terrific phantoms with which it crowded his brain and darkened his path; his "deeply depraved" nature at one moment yielding, melted and subdued, to the Divine Spirit, and then suddenly turning so hard, so cold, so dead, that it could neither receive any light nor give forth any warmth. Amidst this alternation and conflict of opposite feelings and tendencies, we see him preparing to assume the weighty responsibilities of his chosen profession. By vows perpetually renewed, by frequent and exhausting fasts, by incessant efforts to attain the unattainable, by midnight devotions, by solemn meditations, did he seek the needed qualification. He girds himself every morning for a fight with the grand adversary, approaching him under manifold disguises; heard by him in every whisper of passion, however faint and unapproved; feared in every thought capable of being developed into a sinful act; perceived in every change that passed over him, by which the high-wrought fervors of his imagination were moderated, and the gorgeous visions which sometimes rose before it were obscured; seen in the shadowy doubts that occasionally flitted across the highway of his faith, and in all the forms of human infirmity; — by conflicts fierce and terrible with this Protean adversary, maintained with strong resolution and with sleepless vigilance, he ceases not, day nor night, to pursue his preparation. Seldom, we believe, has a young man entered the ranks of the profession with a preparation of this kind more costly. We feel a profound sympathy for the struggling soul, whether the evils be real or imaginary with which it contends. The soul that, knowing itself fettered, resolves to break the chain which holds it, that is alarmed by its perils and persists in exertions to escape from them (though fruitless, because misdirected), that trembles at the thought of its own degradation, and with groanings that cannot be uttered besieges the throne of grace to obtain help and mercy, — such a soul, though wedded to a thousand errors, commands not only our sympathy, but our unfeigned reverence. And when we see this young man, week after week, and month after month, making the day sober and the night weary with his prayers, thinking and talk-

ing of nothing but the claims of religion as they appear to his mind, baptized in the cloud and in the fire, and all that he may render himself acceptable as a servant of Christ, — whilst we deplore the errors of his faith and recoil from the delusions under which he acted, — we instinctively yield him the tribute of our respect, the homage which is due to a noble nature obedient to its highest law. And yet we shall not refrain from avowing the belief, entertained with no scruples, that such intense action of the elements within, which have relation and affinity to spiritual things, such incessant racking of the heart, such frequent and prolonged absorption of the reason and imagination in things purely abstract, not connected with the daily life of man, are wholly unnecessary, — called for neither by a wise regard to the economy of man's physical and moral constitution, nor by any real wants of the soul, when thoroughly alive to its Christian obligations ; that they tend in general to defeat their own ends, and are therefore worse than useless.

Mr. Payson preached his first sermon in May, 1807, at Marlborough, in this State. The following is his record of that day.

"May 24. Sabbath. Was favored with considerable fervency, life, and sense of dependence, this morning. Endeavoured to cast myself wholly on the Lord for support. Felt thankful it was rainy. There were very few people at meeting, and I just got through without stopping. Spoke too fast and too low. Was a good deal depressed after meeting. In the afternoon did a little better, but still bad enough. Was very much fatigued and almost in a fever ; but enjoyed some comfort after meeting." — Vol. I. pp. 106, 107.

Four days afterwards he "enjoyed a very unusual degree of sweetness and fervor," and also the day following ; "but was much exercised on account of pride, or rather love of applause, which was excited by some approbation which, I lately heard, was bestowed on my preaching." A short time passes and we find him writing down this melancholy testimony : — "June 18. Suffered more of hell to-day than ever I did in my life. O such torment ! I wanted but little of being distracted. I could neither read, nor write, nor pray, nor sit still." The next day : — "Rose in the same state of mind in which I lay down. Rode out and felt some better, so that I found some liberty to pray." We adduce these records of himself, that our readers may see the state of mind

and the moral habits in which he began his career as a minister. His whole subsequent life was only a development of the dispositions exhibited at this period ; and the origin of these is to be sought, not in any peculiarity of natural temperament, — for in this respect Mr. Payson was not distinguished by activity and fervor, — but in the entire prostration of a soul, owning absolute fealty to God, before that despotic system of theology which he received as embodying the cardinal truths of religion. It broke him down. It made him a nervous hypochondriac. It ruined his health. And it stimulated that spiritual pride which his “ natural man ” abhorred, and against which he strove with all the energy at his command. Had Mr. Payson made it a rule to “ ride out ” oftener, he would doubtless have “ felt better,” not only for the time being, but permanently ; for it must needs require a very vigorous constitution, sustained by much exercise in the open air, to endure a system of theology which deprives God of his fatherly attributes, which contemplates the final triumph of evil in the universe, and sees the hell of eternity daily filling with the children of God, doomed to its unutterable torments by his arbitrary decree. The wonder is, that all who adopt it do not sink and die under it, that they find a moment’s rest from that agony of mind which defies consolation, that a smile of contentment, much more of mirthfulness, should ever be seen playing upon their features, or that they can permit themselves under any circumstances to form those endearing domestic ties from which endless misery may flow. It is a bold and groundless assumption of Mr. Payson’s biographer, that, “ if with his own views of the gospel he was sometimes melancholy, with different views he would have gone distracted.” No. With different views we believe he would have been both a happier and a better man ; and notwithstanding the solemn protest of his friend, that “ to make his faith accountable for his distresses would be the highest offence to his now sainted spirit,” we do and must hold his theology answerable for most of his imperfections and all his unusual sufferings, and calmly avow our belief that in so doing, so far from offending, we afford satisfaction to “ his now sainted spirit.” We confess that in our estimation Mr. Payson was less a Christian after he became such by the general consent of his friends than before, — after he became what is technically called “ a child of grace ” than while he remained simply a right-minded and deserving man ;

not less true to his own ideal of a Christian, but farther removed from a perfect ideal, — less meek, magnanimous, sweet-tempered, trustful, and hopeful ; less patient, gentle, and humble in his relations to others ; less open-hearted, kind, and sympathizing as a friend ; — though his soul flamed up with more of that piety which of old worshipped the Lord God in the symbols of the quaking earth and the thundering heavens, and in the terrible majesty of the Warrior-King omnipotent to save or to destroy.

If in this judgment we may be thought to err, still we maintain that whatever he was in the maturity of life, as a man and a minister, must be attributed, in no inconsiderable degree, to the influence of those distinctive religious opinions in which he had been educated. We believe in the potency of opinion, and when it has reference to matters of high concernment, can never allow ourselves to speak of it as of small importance. We do not at all assent to the maxim which some appear to have adopted into their holy scripture, — “ It makes no difference what one believes, provided his life be right ” ; for it would seem to us to be in open contradiction to other Scriptures of an authority higher than human. What is religious opinion but the judgment which the mind forms on the great questions suggested by the soul’s relation to God and eternity ? Behind it in the mind lie, we admit, the religious instincts, the religious sentiments ; but these are powerless till they shape themselves into ideas. Not till they assume the form of thought do they become efficient in the formation of character. *God exists*, — this may be a spontaneous and universal conception of the human mind ; but *what he is*, — the all-important question, — what relation he sustains to man, and how he regards him, — this is matter of induction and within the sphere of opinion. It is the judgment formed upon this question, much more than the prior fact, which gives tone to the affections, which inspires and directs the worship, and which influences the conduct of life. So, too, one’s opinion — what one *thinks* — of Christ involves the question what he thinks of Christianity, and this, the question what he thinks of life, of the soul, of duty, of the world to come ; and will any pretend that the opinion one forms on these points has no influence on his character, — that it has not an immeasurable influence ? The power of opinion in other departments of life than that which religion covers is everywhere admitted. The political opinions of an individual, or of the members of a state, how much often de-

pend upon them ! How much pains is taken to disseminate what are regarded as right opinions in reference to public measures. Why ? Because opinion controls and regulates action. In commercial affairs it is the same. What the merchant *thinks* of the markets at home and abroad decides the voyage ; not feeling, not absolute knowledge, but opinion. So also the general opinion concerning the great institutions of society decides their character ; makes them, in the first place, and then modifies or overthrows them at pleasure. Opinion in this case is omnipotent. Nothing stands against it. Monuments of human pride totter and fall before it. Works of wisdom that have outlived their day it consigns to dust and oblivion. Thrones that for ages have stood secure in glory it silently upheaves, and buries the children of kings in their ruins, while it exalts the humble youth, of family unknown, reared up in toils and hardships, to a place higher than a throne, and hails him “ a nation’s father.” Now if everywhere else opinion is so powerful, — everywhere, — can we believe that in religion it has little or no influence ? Let us see where this notion would carry us. If religious opinion is of no consequence, then we may as well believe one thing concerning Jesus, for example, as another ; as well think him a deceiver as a true prophet ; as well think him unsound in religion as an infallible teacher ; as well think him weak, erring, and sinful, as a pure and perfect example, and declared to be the Son of God by a voice from heaven and by his resurrection from the dead. Why not, — if opinion is of no practical moment, and may be one thing or another with equal safety and equal advantage ? But what would be the effect of universal indifference on this point ? Precisely this : — to put an entire end to the influence of the gospel in the world, — to put out that light and hope of man, — to put it out of existence, — to crucify Christ again, and bury him for ever, — and thus to leave man once more to himself, in the wilderness, in the storm, in the desolation, in sorrow’s anguish, in mortality’s fear, — all to himself, friendless, hopeless, Godless, — all to himself, with his instincts and insight, and such philosophy as he could make. The faith of the Christian world in a few generations would disappear ; those holy and beautiful traits, imitated from Jesus, which we see and admire in many of his followers, would have faded out of sight, and Christian godliness, with its cheering worship and wide-extending love, would be known only as a feature of a past age.

Besides ; what is it from which right conduct, all worthy action, proceeds ? The deeds that are remembered with satisfaction, or that are admired in others, traced to their origin, where is it found to be ? Is it not always in some active thought, some commanding idea ? Is not this the source of those works of genius that have in them immortal life ? Ideas, thoughts, are the source of all things. They govern man. Not his reason only, but his life, his outward and inward life, is subject to them. Thus mighty and universal is the influence of living ideas. Now, what are one's religious opinions but his ideas, or the *results of his thinking* on the subject of religion ; on a subject, therefore, the highest, the holiest, the most influential, that can possibly engage his mind ? And the ideas which men have had, the opinions which they have formed upon this subject, — how vast has been their influence ! Moved by them, they have practised the most cruel austerities, kept starving fasts, swung upon iron hooks fastened into their bodies, laid themselves down and been crushed to death by the wheels of their idol's car. Moved by them, they have fought battles, made wearisome pilgrimages, erected inquisitions, burned heretics, overturned governments. Moved by them, they have established communities on the principles of peace and brotherly love, founded churches, visited prisons and the abodes of poverty as angels of mercy, traversed oceans and deserts bearing the cross of the Redeemer, and died the death of martyrs. It is religious opinion, primarily, from which all these actions, so opposite in their character, and of so great importance as it regards human welfare, have proceeded. "If ye continue in my word," said Jesus, "then are ye my disciples indeed ; and ye shall know the truth, and *the truth shall make you free.*"

In the tenor of these remarks, we think, is found an adequate explanation of the decided difference in character between individuals and communities living in the same general circumstances, but under widely different theological systems. Both may be worthy of the Christian name, but they are not Christians of the same type. The religious life of Payson, what a contrast does it present, for example, to that of his contemporary and neighbour, the excellent and venerated Parker ! and the influence of their respective ministries on the people, of every sort, in the midst of whom they served, — on their peace, harmony, charity, and Christian piety, —

would exhibit a contrast, we suspect, quite as remarkable as that of their personal characters. But we can pursue this topic no farther. What space remains to us, and it is little, must be appropriated to our narrative, which we here resume.

After fulfilling an engagement of a few weeks at Marlborough, and of a single Sunday at Andover, where he "pleased neither the people nor himself," Mr. Payson started, on the 24th of August, 1807, for Portland, — his mind absorbed with heavenly meditations, —

"Prayer all his business, all his pleasure praise."

It seems that a rumor had preceded him of his being a Hopkinsian; whereupon he says, — "I thought it might have a good effect to call upon all my old acquaintances, in order to convince them that my religion was not of that morose, unsocial kind which they supposed; and that a Hopkinsian — supposing me to be one — was not *quite* so bad as the Devil!" Scarcely had he been six weeks in Portland, before overtures were made to him by each of the three Congregational societies to become their minister; and on the 16th of December he was ordained as colleague with the Rev. Mr. Kellogg. At this time, in consequence of too much exertion, too much fasting, too much anxiety to attain at once the goal of Christian endeavour, his health became impaired, insomuch that, ten days after his ordination, he raised blood, which he "viewed as his death-warrant, but felt tolerably calm and resigned." His illness continued, attended by various discouraging symptoms; but the moment he felt a little relieved, he would "go to a conference, take more cold, and come home much worse." His diary records, —

"March 28. Am pretty well convinced that my disease is mortal. My mind partakes so much of the weakness of my body, that I can do nothing in religion, and can scarcely refrain from peevishness and fretting."

"March 30. Had a most sweet and refreshing season in secret prayer this morning. Felt more ardent love to Christ than I have for some time, and was sweetly melted under a sense of my ingratitude."

"April 4. Had unusual earnestness in prayer this morning, both for myself and others, and was sweetly melted in reading the Divine word."

"April 22. Was favored with some intense hungerings and thirstings after righteousness. Was led to believe, from certain circumstances, that my case was almost desperate, but felt most sweetly resigned. My only wish was that God might be glorified either by my life or death." — Vol. I. pp. 147, 148.

His sickness continuing, he was led to try the effect of a journey and a visit at his father's house. So prostrated was he by the journey, that he gave up all hope of recovery, and "felt willing to die; had no murmuring thought." He, however, soon rallied, and, after an absence of two months, his church meanwhile observing a day of fasting and prayer in his behalf, he returned to his people and resumed his labors; "the work appearing great, the obstacles insurmountable, and his strength nothing." "I seem," he writes, "to have no power to get hold of people's consciences, but, as somebody expresses it, my intellects have got mittens on." "I preached to-day, and felt pretty much as I expected. No life, — people stupid." This distressed him more than was good. His sensitive nature needed to be soothed and comforted continually by what he loved most of all to see, — an interest in his labors on the part of those to whom he was devoted in the Lord. Recovering his health, he prosecuted his duties with quickened zeal, preaching with great vehemence, earnest to awaken his congregation from the slumbers in which they had been long buried. Writing to his parents under date of August 3, 1808, he says: —

"I preached last Sabbath on man's depravity, and attempted to show that by nature man is, in stupidity and insensibility, a block; in sensuality and sottishness, a beast; and in pride, malice, cruelty, and treachery, a devil. This set the whole town in an uproar, and never was such a racket made about any poor sermon; it is perfectly inconceivable to any who have not seen it." — Vol. I. p. 159.

His biographer adds: — "In the course of the following week there might be heard one man hailing another as 'Brother devil!' But some of these 'brave spirits' were afterwards humbled at the foot of the cross." He has also the good sense to admit that "such a representation of the subject is of questionable propriety," and remarks with shrewdness, that "some young, rash, ignorant ministers will be more emulous to copy this than any other trait in his

preaching. After letting off a volley of harsh, impertinent, bitter, and extravagant epithets, with a heart as callous as that which they describe, they will flatter themselves that they have been signally faithful, 'and are just like Dr. Payson'!"

In a letter to his mother, Dr. Payson thus describes his fears in regard to the effect of his preaching : —

"I think sometimes that all the service I shall do the church will be to change them from legal to evangelical hypocrites ; for they have now got their cue, and instead of saying that they do all they can, and hope Christ will do the rest, they are all complaining, like Mrs. —, what dreadful vile creatures they are, and smile all the time." — Vol. 1. p. 160.

The dark view which he took of human nature and of himself gradually wrought disorder in his mind, to such a degree that

"I am obliged," he says, "to go into the pulpit to pray and preach with my mind full of horrid thoughts, so that I totally forget what I am going to say, and am forced to stop short. . . . It seems as strange, if a good thought or desire rises for a moment in my mind, as it would be to find a diamond on a dunghill, or to see a gleam of sunshine in a dark night. . . . I know that I am every thing that is bad summed up in one, and that I deserve ten thousand times over the hottest place in hell ; but till God shall be pleased to melt my heart by the returning beams of his love, this sight of sin only hardens my heart, and sinks it down in sullen indolence and despair. I well remember those delightful seasons you mention ; but I remember them as Satan does the happiness of heaven which he has lost." — Vol. 1. pp. 161 – 163.

Again he writes : —

"My people are raving about my hard doctrine ; my friends seem to stand aloof, my health begins to decline, religion decaying, and all hell broke loose with me." — Vol. 1. p. 164.

Yet his ministry proceeds, — earnest, laborious, indefatigable, — each day bringing its sorrows and its joys to his heart, more, perhaps, of the former than of the latter, but both in no stinted measure. He passes from winter cold to summer heat while the earth is making a single revolution on its axis. He is grieved and bowed down, as if the guilt of a thousand souls were concentrated in his conscience ; he melts into love and sings of mercy, and kindles with rapturous joy, as though a myriad of angels were playing their

harps in his bosom. His complaints come forth from the depths of his heart, like the wail of a lost spirit wandering in solitary wretchedness ; the utterances of his pious rejoicing are so sweet and holy, that they seem as the voice of one in the midst of the beatific vision. His prayers prevent the morning ; the noonday witnesses their increasing fervor ; they burst forth in "the coming on of grateful evening mild" ; and the silence of midnight bears them on its still, unbroken wave up to the throne of heaven. They are prayers of agony often, sometimes prayers of rapture. They are the sobbings of a soul oppressed, ashamed, and afraid ; and they are the glad shouts of a heart that has obtained mercy, that has found forgiveness, and is blest in the anticipated delights of heaven. Nor is he content to pray alone. He institutes meetings for prayer among his people, that they may pray for a blessing on the word dispensed by him, and for a general revival of religion. Still, he continues to be harassed, as he thinks, by temptations without number, from morning till night and from night till morning, with scarce a moment's intermission ; exclaiming in one of his letters, as if in agony of mind, — "O my dearest mother, do pity me and pray for me ; for I am sifted like wheat !"

We are obliged to pass rapidly over the years of Mr. Payson's ministry. We find them diversified with the usual variety of exertions and sufferings belonging to the life of a devoted clergyman, with something more than the usual share of visible success. His fame as a preacher steadily increases, and this increases the number of his calls for occasional services far and near. In preaching for Bible Societies and Missionary Societies, in conducting "revivals" at home and aiding his friends in other places, in the Bible class, the conference-room, and the church, and in visiting from house to house among his people, his whole time is occupied. "In labors" few have been "more abundant." "Every moment is mortgaged," he said, "before it arrives. If every day were as long as ten, there would be ample employment for every hour." Writing to a friend concerning his celebrated "Address to Seamen," he said : — "I had only ten days' notice, and during that time had to prepare and preach six sermons besides the Address, and another sermon which I did not preach." Again, under date of May 21, 1816, he writes : — "I have two sermons which I wish, if possible, to prepare for the press, but fear I shall never find time.

I have also three ordination sermons to preach within two months, sermons before two missionary societies within the same time, and on the second Sabbath in July I have an engagement to preach in Portsmouth, before the managers of the Female Asylum. Besides this, I preach four sermons and attend two inquiry meetings weekly, etc., etc." Such an amount of labor, together with the religious austerities which he imposed upon himself, and the prolonged excitement caused by frequent religious awakenings, or efforts to produce them, in his church, impaired his health, and made him for several years a confirmed invalid. Add to these an active imagination, rendered morbid by too much use, — perverting itself to the creation of demoniac phantoms in his breast, which filled him with all the horror that actual devils would have caused, — that were, in fact, real devils in his view, — and the reader will see why so much darkness brooded over one who was so truly loyal to conscience and his own conceptions of duty as was Dr. Payson. "My bodily powers," he said, "are kept in such a continual state of exhaustion, and my nerves are so weak, that molehills appear to be mountains, and I am ready to stumble at a straw." And so again, on a quarterly fast-day of his church, just as a great revival was commencing, when his expectations of a wonderful work were very high, when preparations for it had been made on a large scale, he thus tells the story of his deep mortification and disappointment : — "It was the most dreadful day of my life, — the day in which I had most dreadful proofs of more than diabolical depravity of heart." In a conversation with a friend whom he visited while on a journey for the benefit of his health, "he dwelt particularly on the causes which had operated to undermine and destroy it. Among them was his great and increasing anxiety for a general and powerful revival of religion among his people ; his incessant labors to secure so great a blessing, and the repeated disappointments he had experienced from year to year. 'We would seem,' said he, 'to be on the eve of an extensive revival, and my hopes would be correspondently raised ; and then the favorable appearances would vanish away. Under the powerful excitement of hope, and under the succeeding depression arising from disappointment, my strength failed, and I sunk rapidly under my labors.' " "I am religiously romantic," said he on another occasion ; "I am always expecting something out of the common course, and planning what God is going to do."

The following letter shows a state of mind bordering on insanity. It is truly mournful to see a soul of so much real excellence tormented by such hallucinations.

“Dec. 5, 1823.

“I have been sick, and laid by from preaching on Thanksgiving day and two Sabbaths, but am now able to resume my labors. But O the temptations which have harassed me for the last three months! I have met with nothing like them in books. I dare not mention them to any mortal, lest they should trouble him as they have troubled me; but should I become an apostate, and write against religion, it seems to me that I could bring forward objections which would shake the faith of all the Christians in the world. What I marvel at is, that the arch-deceiver has never been permitted to suggest them to some of his scribes, and have them published. They would, or I am much mistaken, make fearful work with Christians for a time, though God would, doubtless, enable them to overcome in the end. It seems to me that my state has been far worse than that of Mansoul was when Diabolus and his legions broke into the town. They could not get into the castle, the heart; but my castle was full of them. But do not be troubled for me; I am now better.” — Vol. I. p. 379.

The anxieties and doubts, as well as the labors, of Dr. Payson were now destined to a speedy termination. The course of his life was almost run. No art of the physician could give him back his wasted health. Soon he is to resign all earthly cares and duties. Soon his sun, so often in its journey over the heavens darkened with storms, is to set in unwonted splendor. On the 5th of August, 1827, he entered his meetinghouse for the last time, just twenty years after he entered it the first time as a preacher. He was supported into the house by his senior deacons. Twenty-one persons were admitted to the church. Most of those present were much affected, and after the services many crowded round him, to take his hand for the last time. Solemn and impressive scene! The pastor and his flock meeting for the last time on earth, and exchanging the pledges of their mutual affection as they celebrate together the unspeakable love of that Saviour by whose life and death they have been redeemed unto God! Amidst the unwearied attentions of his family and people, helpless and distressed in body, but strong and happy in faith, he approached his end. “If my happiness continues to increase,” he said, “I cannot support it much longer.” “Formerly my joys were tumultuous; now all is

calm and peaceful." On being asked, "In your anticipations of heaven, do you think of meeting departed friends?" he replied, after a moment's reflection, — "If I meet Christ, 't is no matter whether I see others or not, though I shall want some to help me praise him." We cannot forbear to brighten our pages with the following beautiful letter, his farewell to his beloved sister. It is dated September 19th.

"Dear Sister: — Were I to adopt the figurative language of Bunyan, I might date this letter from the land of Beulah, of which I have been for some weeks a happy inhabitant. The celestial city is full in my view. Its glories beam upon me, its breezes fan me, its odors are wafted to me, its sounds strike upon my ears, and its spirit is breathed into my heart. Nothing separates me from it but the river of death, which now appears but as an insignificant rill, that may be crossed at a single step, whenever God shall give permission. The Sun of Righteousness has been gradually drawing nearer and nearer, appearing larger and brighter as he approached, and now he fills the whole hemisphere; pouring forth a flood of glory, in which I seem to float like an insect in the beams of the sun; exulting, yet almost trembling, while I gaze on this excessive brightness, and wondering, with unutterable wonder, why God should deign thus to shine upon a sinful worm. A single heart and a single tongue seem altogether inadequate to my wants; I want a whole heart for every separate emotion, and a whole tongue to express that emotion.

"But why do I speak thus of myself and my feelings? Why not speak only of our God and Redeemer? It is because I know not what to say. When I would speak of them, my words are all swallowed up. I can only tell you what effects their presence produces, and even of these I can tell you but very little. O my sister, my sister! could you but know what awaits the Christian, could you know only so much as I know, you could not refrain from rejoicing, and even leaping for joy. Labors, trials, troubles, would be nothing; you would rejoice in afflictions and glory in tribulations; and, like Paul and Silas, sing God's praises in the darkest night and in the deepest dungeon. You have known a little of my trials and conflicts, and know that they have been neither few nor small; and I hope this glorious termination of them will serve to strengthen your faith and elevate your hope.

"And now, my dear, dear sister, farewell. Hold on your Christian course but a few days longer, and you will meet in heaven your happy and affectionate brother,

"EDWARD PAYSON."

— Vol. i. pp. 406, 407.

He lingered in much suffering, but with no interruption of his soul's peace, until the 22d of October, when, at about the going down of the sun, having looked on his wife and children, and said, nearly in the words of the dying Joseph, "I am going, but God will surely be with you," his spirit was released.

Thus lived and died Edward Payson, like the melancholy Cowper a victim of the Calvinistic theology, but a Christian in spite of it ; an eloquent preacher and a faithful pastor ; justly honored in the church which he adorned and to whose prosperity he was devoted ; — a man whose rare piety disarms censure, and whose triumphant death enriches hope.

"Servant of God, well done !
Rest from thy loved employ ;
The battle fought, the victory won,
Enter thy Master's joy."

We have already more than filled our limits, and yet have said nothing of the sermons of Dr. Payson, which in the edition before us fill two large volumes. We have little to say. The sermons have disappointed us ; and we think they fall far below an adequate representation of Dr. Payson's powers. Combining the theology of Jonathan Edwards with the imaginative representation and rhetorical extravagance of Whitefield, they lack the strength and terseness of the former, and the point and pathos of the latter. They abound in extravagant conceits, in bold exaggerations, in vivid descriptions of invisible objects, in processes of reasoning without logical coherence, and in efforts to convince and convert more adroit than wise or proper. In composing them heaven and hell seem to have been as familiar to the author's eye as the scenes immediately around him ; and his pages now dazzle with the unspeakable glories of the one, and are now lurid with the terrific flames of the other. Their aim appears to have been, not so much to gain his hearers over to his side by clear, calm, earnest argument and persuasion, as to startle, ensnare, and overthrow them ; and then to bring them in as captives. He delights to furnish them with objections, and, after surrounding them with his artillery, to demand an unconditional surrender. But the grand fault of these discourses lies in the gloomy, ungenerous, unjust views of man which are the staple of them all. From first to last, they exhibit man only in his extremest

degradation. When they would paint him with their best art, they summon some Satan of the most diabolical class to sit for the picture. The men of these sermons are not the men whom we meet in daily life. They are monsters; they have no image of God in them, no trace of heavenly nobleness. They have no sympathy, no truth, no faith, no aspiration. They have no law in their minds opposed to the law in their animal nature, but are wholly bent upon evil. They riot in sin. "Evil, thou art my good," is their ruling principle. If they detect any thing in themselves that seems right and good, they are made to believe that this is only a manœuvre of the adversary in order to gain some new advantage. In the sight of God and angels they are miserable, worthless, loathsome beings. Such representations, abounding in these volumes, insure to them early oblivion.

Dr. Payson's sermons want breadth of scope. They do not sweep the circle of religion, but describe only a single segment. They do not traverse humanity in its amplitude, but are confined to a small and dark corner of it. In imagination they are often bright and soaring, but seldom, though sometimes, brilliant and sublime. They deal with their hearers, in too many instances, as if they had no intellect to question their postulates, and no heart to feel their aspersions. They lack the spirit of brotherly kindness and charity, — the humane and social element of religion, — the spirit of the second great commandment, to give practical activity to that of the first. And yet many of them are striking, pertinent, forcible, abounding in apt illustration, and in the delivery must have been exceedingly effective. To this praise they are entitled, — and it may be considered the highest, — that they probably fulfilled the object for which they were prepared in a measure beyond that which it is often the lot of sermons, even those of distinguished ministers, to do. Nor are we unmindful of the difficulty of composing sermons which, whilst they suit the circumstances of a particular congregation and serve an immediate end, shall also be of a character so general and broad, and receive a finish so exact and beautiful, as to commend them to the taste and fit them for the use of readers at large. But of this we are sure, that sermons which do not treat fairly the intellect of the hearers, — sermons which aim to carry their points by stratagem or by volleys of eloquence, — sermons which are not in harmony with the nature of man and the progress of

the race, — sermons of menace and impassioned declamation merely, however solemn and moving at the time, — can have no permanent interest or value. The name and memory of their authors may long be preserved and held in honor, but the sermons themselves will soon be forgotten. To this fate we think most of the sermons in these volumes are destined.

How, then, it may be asked, do we account for Dr. Payson's great celebrity as a preacher? We should be glad, in reply, to go into a critical analysis of his powers; but must content ourselves here with a very general view of them. Dr. Payson possessed many of the essential qualities of a pulpit orator, — a fine voice, simplicity and dignity of appearance and manner, quick and clear perceptions, skill in disposing the materials of his discourse, a lively interest in his subject, unquestioned sincerity, an imagination easily excited and often rich in its creations, sensibilities that moved with lightning rapidity, a heartfelt concern for the salvation of his fellow-men, and an overwhelming sense of the magnitude of the work in which he was engaged. With these qualities no man could fail of producing an impression, of attracting notice, of winning popular regard. Add to these, uncommon variety, copiousness, and fluency in his public prayers, poured forth from depths of thought and feeling that seemed inexhaustible, suited to every occasion, to every state of character and mood of mind or heart in his congregation, uttered with a fervor and earnestness of manner that drew the undivided attention of all, and prepared them for receiving the sermon as a veritable message from heaven. In this union of gifts and attainments is found, we think, the secret of Dr. Payson's unusual fame as a preacher. Had these qualities been combined in him with a more generous faith, with a better appreciation of the actual condition and wants of men, — of the good that is in them to be commended, as well as of the evil to be condemned, — with a view of the nature and means of salvation more strictly evangelical, with a more genial and hopeful humanity, we doubt not his influence would have been broader, deeper, and more beneficent, and the memorials of his ministry, in the place where it was exercised, more conspicuous, gratifying, and enduring.

J. W. T.

ART. V. — RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF THE TIMES.

THERE is a general complaint at present of a decline of religious interest in the churches of our land. From all denominations arises this lamentation, united with more or less rebuke of those who are represented as participating in an apathy which they should have prevented. In some quarters very strong language is used on the subject. The present is pronounced "a period of spiritual death." "There are few or no revivals." "Coldness has crept over our religious assemblies." "Worldliness has chilled the sensibilities of the devout, and diverted to its own ends the energies of the active." "Religion is at a low ebb in the community." "Zeal has given place to torpor, and piety to indifference." In such terms as these is the character of the present time described by some persons; while others content themselves with speaking of a *comparatively* low state of religion, and deplore the absence of those signs of spiritual life which were seen a few years ago.

We are far from denying that there is occasion for such remarks. There is apparently, and, we believe, really, less interest felt in religious subjects now than prevailed three or four years since. Those who have adopted the religious life are generally less strict in their fidelity to its requisitions, and among the irreligious or the worldly fewer examples occur of a change of character. We may, with entire truth, confess the poverty of our faith and the emptiness of our lives.

But we must not exaggerate the evil, imputing to our times more of irreligion than belongs to them, nor continue to present to our own or to others' observation only one side of the reality, as if there was no reverse to the gloomy truth. We should avoid this mistake, both because it is a mistake, a virtual falsehood, and because it does no inconsiderable harm.

It is a virtual falsehood, as all one-sidedness is. He who dwells exclusively on the dark or the bright aspect of society misrepresents it, as much as he who looks only on the joy or the sorrow of life misrepresents the Divine Providence. There is never an entire degeneracy, an indifference which sweeps over all hearts, as there can never be found an individual who is wholly and only bad. In the worst times

there are some faithful souls who withstand, if they cannot arrest, the tendency of their age. When the Papal Church was at the height of its power, and the depth of its corruption, the Waldenses stood forth as the champions of a purer religion, or maintained their virtue in the seclusion which was their only means of safety. Even in Sodom there was one Lot, an exception to the general character of the people. We are apt, too, when grieved or indignant at the proofs of laxity around us, to forget how much excellence is hidden from sight in the quiet homes of the land. Who can tell how many morning and evening sacrifices are laid on altars which no eye but God's has counted? Who can estimate the amount of private virtue, of Christian self-denial, of unostentatious goodness, of secret communion, which comes up into constant remembrance before the Omniscient One? At the moment when the lust of gain and the love of pleasure may seem to divide the community between them, in hundreds of households might we find lives worthy of all praise. There never was an Elijah to complain that he alone was left of the servants of the Lord, who might not have been rebuked by a declaration like that which taught the prophet that God's knowledge, like God's patience, was greater than his own.

The partial judgment of which we speak does harm, because it discourages some persons, and in the minds of others raises painful questions respecting Christianity. It disheartens those who depend very much on sympathy, and who, if they be told that their fellow-Christians are all sinking into religious unconcern, will lose their own energy of faith, and illustrate the truth of the remark by which they will themselves have been overborne. Yet more serious is the evil which is done, when persons, who are not established in that Christian experience which is a witness to itself of the Divine origin of the Gospel, are tempted to inquire how that can be from God which is so inefficacious. Can a religion which produces no fervor or force of character have come from above? Christianity is now hampered, in its attempts to win the submission of some men, by difficulties enough arising from its confessedly slow progress and imperfect establishment in the world, without our increasing the obstacles in the way of faith by holding up to view only the less favorable passages of its history. By speaking only of our neighbour's ill-success or want of influence, we may very soon create a prejudice against him that shall never be over-

come. In like manner may we prejudice the cause of truth and of God.

In regard to the alleged, and actual, departure of our times from a high standard of Christian experience, it should not be forgotten that similar complaints have been made, and not without reason, in all ages. We find them at no great intervals, as we traverse the whole extent of ecclesiastical history. To go no farther back than the settlement of our own country, this neighbourhood had scarcely become the seat of a Christian population, when the charge of degeneracy was brought against the people. In the sermons of a hundred years ago, and of a still more distant date, we meet with as strong descriptions of prevalent immorality and declension of piety, as in any of the discourses or journals of our own day. It does not follow that either now or then the imputation was unjust, but from such facts we may learn to avoid alike excessive severity of judgment and extreme indulgence of anxiety.

Another fact of a general nature is established, we think, by a survey of the history of the Christian Church. Is it not manifest, that there are alternations of religious interest and religious apathy? Are there not periods at which God seems to awaken a wider and deeper thoughtfulness on spiritual subjects than at others? It is plain that a uniform religious experience is no more to be expected in a community than in an individual. There will be seasons of earnestness and seasons of dulness. For a time an anxiety about the welfare and destiny of the soul will appear to pervade all classes, and then again little concern will seem to be felt by any class of persons. Unusual engagedness in divine things will be followed by apparent forgetfulness of them. Such variations no one who has observed the state of society even for a few years can deny. Much of the language which has been used in regard to the fact we are noticing we would avoid, as being founded in a wrong philosophy of religion, and suited, while it represents God as capricious, to render man indolent. But that seasons of religious excitement alternate with seasons of religious depression, we hold to be undeniable. The law which governs such changes, if a law there be, is known only to the Supreme Intelligence; if they are what in human language we term accidental, the causes which produce them are either so obscure or so various that they elude our power of description. Still, the

existence of something like a periodical sensibility to the importance of religious truth is established by the history of every town and church. And in this fact we but discover a resemblance to what we observe in other provinces of human experience. Excitement and indifference succeed each other on every subject in which a community can be interested, not, indeed, with the regularity, but with the certainty, of the ebb and flow of the tide. Now the people are captivated with this pleasure or this pursuit, and now they seem weary of it. What we call fashion is little else than obedience to this principle of social life, which has force in religion as well as in other matters.

The comparative want of interest in religion which marks the present time may be, in part at least, explained. Not to insist on that principle of reaction to which we have just referred, two powerful and obvious influences present themselves, as conspiring to withdraw the minds of the people from religious thought. One is the great prosperity of the times, — not unexampled, indeed, but perhaps never surpassed. Never has there been a period when all classes, from the day-laborer to the capitalist, received more sure or larger returns for whatever investment, whether of industry, ingenuity, or money, they made in worldly undertakings. Look, on the one hand, at the situation of those whose reliance for their daily bread is on their daily toil. The poor we may always expect to have with us, — the infirm and the vicious; but he who is willing and able to work finds work, and for that work receives such remuneration as, if it do not relieve him from anxiety, lifts him above want. But then *he must work*, all day and with all his strength, or others will take advantage of his idleness and carry off from him the means of subsistence. On the other hand, he who has already accumulated large property unites with his rich neighbours, and in one short winter rises a city where his wealth may be expended in the confidence of ample returns. Meanwhile, the country is crossed and recrossed with the iron roads along which trade and travel pour themselves, like streams down mountain-passes. Business stretches out its thousand arms in every direction, and everywhere grasps a substantial reward. The city is prosperous, and outgrows its natural limits. The country is prosperous, and sustains an increasing and thriving population. The misfortunes of other lands, while they call our benevolence into ready exercise,

and throw upon our shores a host of needy sufferers, yet materially increase the value of our harvests, and add to our wealth. Activity is seen on all sides ; and men's hearts are full of the cares and concerns of this life. At such a time the claims of religion are not likely to receive their due share of attention. The people are too busy, and too successful, to stop and meditate on Christian duty or the grounds of Christian hope. With some, gratitude may be a bond to hold them to a faithful obedience ; but most, amidst this crowd and clamor of worldly engagements, will think little of the soul's wants or the soul's Saviour.

In connection with this characteristic of the present time is another, which has a still more unhappy influence on the religious sensibilities of the people. It is a time of war, — a period when anxiety or excitement absorbs all the interest that can be spared from business. The war with Mexico has become a history of remarkable and rapid successes on the part of one of the nations engaged in this unchristian strife, — if that can be called success which consists in slaughter and rapine. The consequence has been an intensity of feeling about the war, which no one anticipated a few months since. With many, the feeling is one which no humane or Christian heart ought to entertain ; with others it is a feeling of grief and shame. In both cases it is very strong, and every day grows stronger. While the thoughts of the people are thus preoccupied and enchained, it is not probable that religion will receive any special regard. We say nothing of the effect on the general character which must follow from such an interest in the details of injustice and bloodshed. We speak now only of the necessary exclusion of sacred thoughts, and the inevitable tendency towards a neglect of religious duties. The mind becomes secularized, if it be not barbarized. The sympathies and hopes of the heart are turned from heaven and detained on earth. To expect that at such a time there should be a revival or an active condition of the religious sentiments, is to expect that flowers will grow and harvests ripen amidst the storms of winter.

While, however, we admit that from these and other causes the interest which the people take in the subject of religion is probably less than it was two or three years since, we cannot but attach importance to a consideration which appears to us not to have been sufficiently weighed by those who, under the influence of their fears or their prejudices,

have failed to observe its bearing on some of the questions before us. Religion, unchangeable in its elements, has various forms of manifestation. "The manifold grace of God," everywhere the same in all that is essential to its character as a Divine gift or a human blessing, is variously distributed, according to the natural receptiveness, the intellectual, moral, or even physical predisposition, of the individual, — will be variously received, according to the temperament, intelligence, or spiritual sensibility of each one, — and must be variously exhibited in the relations of society, according to the talent, taste, and opportunity which belong to different persons. Christianity is not a mould into which character or life is cast, that it may bear precisely the same shape and appearance. Christians are neither stereotyped nor daguerre-typed presentments of humanity, but examples of a divine principle entering into connection with original peculiarities of structure, to control and sanctify, without effacing, the individuality to which these give occasion. The influence of Christian truth, even were it the same in amount, would not always be the same in its results, as an equal degree of heat or moisture will not produce the same effect on all kinds of soil or all kinds of plants; and the manifestations of Christian faith or the Christian spirit will therefore not be identical, but often dissimilar, where there may be an equal depth of conviction or sincerity of purpose, as different growths of trees may prove a common fertility, with a diverse adaptation, of soils. Peter and John, alike devoted to their Master's cause, show the strength of their attachment in ways unlike, yet not discordant. James gives proof of his Christian constancy by remaining through his whole apostolic life in Jerusalem, while Paul exhibits a constancy neither less true nor more unquestionable by spending his days in missionary labor. Peter and John, James and Paul, are but types of what every age will behold, as long as the Church continues on earth. And if in heaven, as the Christian poet has sung and the Christian apostle has intimated, there be orders of angelic existence and variety of celestial employment, — from those "seven

"Who in God's presence nearest to his throne
Stand ready at command,"

to Raphael, "the sociable spirit," who moves with not less alacrity to execute the Divine will, — a similar diversity must

obtain there among those who, admitted to that blest world through a common sanctification and a common mercy, yet maintain there, as here, an individual consciousness, and an individual expression of that consciousness ; each one "receiving the gift," and "ministering" it there, as here, according to the capacities, proportions, and relations of his own being.

On earth, this diversity must be increased by that imperfection of character which is inseparable from the weakness and exposure of human nature. And in consequence of such diversity religion has seldom been presented, as a visible reality, in its full and harmonious proportions ; never, indeed, except in Him who was the pattern and paragon of goodness, the teacher and the example of a perfect excellence. In him we see the religious character unfolded symmetrically and completely. But in others we see it always in partial manifestation. Even in those who most nearly resemble Jesus we notice excess or defect, or both. Fenelon did not fill out the circle of Christian graces. Those whom we have loved for their rare goodness have always excelled in one kind of goodness, have manifested their religious character through one form of expression rather than through all forms. We may expect to witness the same variety, with similar imperfection, now.

Three manifestations of religious character especially deserve our notice. We may denominate them respectively the religion of the Church, the religion of the individual, and the religion of society. In the Roman Catholic portion of Christendom it is needless to say that the first of these has prevailed, and that generally it has been the only religion of which an example has been given to the world. Still the three have often been combined, not in such just proportions as to present a copy of our Lord's various, yet perfect excellence, but in such proportions as gave to each a place and an importance. We have no wish to fall into the common Protestant vice of injustice to Rome. While we dread and detest its principles of church authority, and reject its doctrinal errors and ceremonial follies, we need not be slow to admit that it has afforded some of the noblest specimens of Christian character. Among the millions whom it has educated, it would be strange if we did not meet with some who prove that God's truth is a mightier instrument than man's device. Such there are, whose names shed glory on the

institutions to which they showed themselves superior. The religion of the Church is that which, from the character of these institutions, we should expect to find, and do find, prevailing among those who adopt the profession of Romanism ; but in many instances this has been so tempered by a union with one or both of the other forms which we have mentioned, that it has hardly appeared in excess. In the ascetics, who retired into the wilderness or the convent, we behold the religion of the Church combined as a secondary rather than the chief element of character with the religion of the individual, while the religion of society was by them wholly neglected. In many of the missionaries whom Rome has sent out to proselyte the nations of the earth, we behold reverence for the Church united with a sincere regard for the interests of others ; though in most of her missionaries she has trained only servants of her cause, bent upon extending her authority, with little concern about any other than the ecclesiastical benefits which they might confer on their converts. In other instances, in those who were the true saints of that communion, men who were worthy to be canonized by the love of all Christendom, we see the ecclesiastical, the personal, and the social elements blending and coöperating to a most beautiful and blessed result. On the whole, through the many ages of Romish despotism, we contemplate in its history an exhibition of the religion of the Church, but with exceptions that relieve and irradiate the monotony.

When we come to Protestantism, we find that there prevails a development of the second of those forms of the religious life which we have enumerated. In the English Establishment, indeed, the religion of the Church is brought into great prominence, but even there it is largely qualified by the element of personal consideration. The great aim of Protestantism has been, to unfold the religion of the individual. And this end it has attempted to reach mainly through the inculcation of theological doctrine. Faith has been represented as the great means of salvation, and this faith has been defined to be a reception of positive dogmatic statements. Protestant teachers have labored to implant certain persuasions in the mind of the individual, that through their presence or their influence within him he might become a Christian. They seem to have thought little, or not at all, about society, and have taken no pains to give the people instruction concerning the work which might be accomplished

in rebuilding the social order on the basis of Christian truth. They have taught that men must seek eternal life by what has been called an exercise of justifying faith in the merits of the Saviour, or in the articles of a sharply drawn creed, or, in other cases, where a clearer, though still inadequate, understanding of the Gospel prevailed, by offices of meditation, prayer, Scriptural reading, and inward self-abasement, rather than by works of beneficence, — thus giving to religion too much a selfish character, and making its processes revolve around the individual, as their sole controlling cause. Or where a higher conception of the religious spirit has obtained, and disinterestedness has been inculcated as the distinction of the Christian, it has been — strange, but true, is this — it has been held up before the inquirer after God's will as an intellectual, rather than a moral property, — the central principle of a theological system, rather than the determination and expression of the daily life. If it be thought that the support which of late years has been given to Christian missions by different Protestant churches invalidates the force of these remarks, it should be remembered that Protestant missions are of recent growth, and mark the character of the age rather than the spirit of Protestantism, which for nearly three centuries did nothing and attempted nothing beyond its own theological borders. A Christian regeneration of society is an idea which the history of neither Catholic nor Protestant missions is likely to suggest. Protestantism has failed, we conceive, almost as signally as Catholicism, to realize the completeness of the Christian character. Still, among Protestants, as among Catholics, have been seen examples of an approach to "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ"; and in some of the smaller Protestant sects, as, for example, the Moravians and the Quakers, has been witnessed a manifestation of that form of the Christian life which we have denominated the religion of society. But the general influence of Protestantism is undeniably such as we have described; and therefore this last expression of the religious sentiment has never yet had its full or fair development.

We need not attempt to prove that all these three kinds of religion are legitimate and essential parts of a perfect whole, or that when Christianity obtains its proper influence in the world it will produce these several manifestations of its power in a delightful agreement. Each of them is needed;

the religion of the Church, because, apart from the Church, with its opinions, institutions, and influences, the Christian is little more likely to advance towards perfection, than is a man to accomplish a journey without a road to travel in or directions how to pursue his way ; the religion of the individual, because, unless a man take care of his own spiritual interests, he will become a mere tool or machine in other men's hands, and not a child of God nor an heir of glory ; the religion of society, because, where there is no sympathy with the wants and sufferings of those about us, there can be only a feeble and mutilated imitation of Christ. All must be seen in concurrent action, both in the believer and in the sect that would establish a full title to the name of Christian.

But if each of these is necessary to the completeness of the Christian character, then it follows that each of them is a partial exhibition of the Christian character, and the person or the community that exhibits either of them is so far faithful to Christianity, and ought not to be charged with an entire want of the Christian life. And further still, since each is essential, it is wrong to underrate either, as if its presence were of little worth except it be attended by its proper companionship. Wherever we see either of these forms of religious life, — for each of them is a form of the religious life, — we should be ready to acknowledge and commend it. If, therefore, in the course of time and the changes over which the Divine Providence watches more patiently, as we have said, and more wisely, than we, the third aspect of religion, or that which looks towards society, should present itself in the practice of any body or any number of Christians, to the neglect of the other views which should likewise be taken of its character, we ought not to cry out at once against the degeneracy or irreligion of the times. While we regret the partiality of conception which produces such a fragmentary display of the Christian life, we should remember that even a single marble from the Parthenon may fill us with admiration, and that the philanthropist, if we must use this word in the narrow and almost sectarian sense which it has acquired of late years, is at least as genuine a representation of a part of Christianity as the devotee or the dogmatist.

These remarks apply to the present posture of affairs. The religion of the Church has with many fallen into neglect, and even into disrepute ; the religion of the individual receives from such persons but incidental attention ; while the religion

of society absorbs their thought and occupies their time. Is there not something here at which we may rejoice, as well as something which we must lament? That manifestation of the Christian character which has been so unjustly overlooked is now acquiring a degree of notice commensurate with its claims. If they who are its warmest advocates and strongest examples neglect other forms of the religious life, they do but commit the same mistake, of a partial judgment of what Christianity is and of what the Christian should be, which has marked the history of the Church in every age. We wish the philanthropy of the present time were more reverent and more humble. We wish it loved the Church better, and thought more of the necessity of self-discipline. But it offers to our view one phase of the Christian life, and as such we accept it, just as we would accept with gratitude the Gospel of Matthew or of John, if we could not have both. We believe that many persons, from their peculiar habits, tastes, or circumstances, will be attracted by this exhibition of Christian sentiment, and will sympathize with it, to the depreciation of other modes of religious expression. Meanwhile, however, "Christ is preached," in one way or another; and therein we rejoice. Nor would we hastily pronounce a judgment upon the age as cold or worldly, because the same forms of religious life which have been chosen in past time do not find equal favor now. If there be any development of the Christian spirit, let us acknowledge and welcome it.

It is the special object of those who are interested in what we have called the religion of society to introduce a better state of things than now exists in civilized countries, and, with or without the direct aid of Christianity, to establish a social order which shall be worthy of man, of civilization, and of the Divine Providence. Giving their attention principally to the evils which lie around them, they find more employment for their thoughts and active powers in the mitigation of human distress, or the removal of public abuses, than either in special offices of self-culture or in an observance of the rules and privileges of the Church. It is a partial view which they take of the religious life, but it is one which ought not to be neglected, and which is awakening more and more interest in the minds of good and earnest men. With some remarks on these points, we shall bring this article to a close.

There are two ways in which they who are anxious to amend the social state may proceed. One is, to address themselves to particular vices or institutions or forms of human suffering, in the hope of removing them ; the other is a more radical method, and attempts to work a change in the whole social organization. The latter method strikes deeper, and would spread itself over a wider field of action, than the former ; but they are suggested by the same conviction of the injustice which society at present inflicts upon its members, and they permit the appropriation of the names of philanthropist and reformer to both the classes of persons who pursue these methods.

We concur with both these classes in believing that society needs to be reformed, if not to be remoulded. Institutions exist, which lift their heads above the obscurity of past times and affront the light of the present, as if in defiance of that law of progress which would doom them to decay. Practices abound which are as injurious as they are discreditable to humanity. Such institutions and practices, at direct variance with Christianity, are nevertheless cherished by nations which, with a Pharisaic ostentation, write its name upon the garments of their public state. It is time, it was time a thousand years ago, — how much more clearly is it time now ! — that attention be called to these things, and the eyes and the consciences of men be fastened on these flagrant violations of God's law, these examples of social iniquity. For whatever deprives a man of an enjoyment of the rights which are pointed out as his by the circumstance of birth, or lays on him a heavier burden of trouble or of disadvantage than was intended by the Author of his being, is a sinful departure from that constitution of things which, according to the will of God, should have prevailed on earth. It is impossible, in comparing the results of modern civilization with the legitimate fruits of Christianity, not to observe the glaring contrasts which present themselves on every side. Much there is to approve, much to admire ; but much also to condemn, deplore, and eradicate. There is an immense pressure of evil, by which thousands, nay millions, are crushed to the earth ; — factitious distinctions which have no foundation in justice, and conventional arrangements against which multitudes in vain attempt to rise to their proper enjoyment of the means and purposes of existence. Whole classes are trained in sin from their birth, and the fair earth, which was built for man's

pleasant habitation, is converted into a moral pest-house. Were it not for another life, in which the Divine Righteousness will see that they who have been *compelled* by the circumstances of their condition to live in the vilest degradation here are placed under more favorable influences, how often should we exclaim, — “It had been good for that man if he had not been born.”

The essential defect in our social system is the inequality which marks the distribution of the means of comfort and improvement. It is not necessary to a removal of this evil that men should share alike in respect to worldly possessions. The disproportion of which we complain is not to be corrected by stripping the rich of their wealth ; for the evil is not that there are men who have abundance, but that there are other men who have nothing. It is not an offence against the social law that I am surrounded by comforts, but it is through a disregard of that law that my neighbour lives without any of the comforts of life. It is not wealth, but poverty, which shows how little respect is paid to the Divine will in the arrangements of a community. God never intended that there should be those who must live by beggary or by thieving, because they can find no other way to save themselves from starvation. But the permission of this extreme want is not the only breach of Divine commandment with which society is chargeable. Men have a right to something more than food or the means of a bare subsistence. To save them from perishing is not all that society owes to its members. They have a right to a certain measure of intellectual and moral culture, — enough to make them useful and happy here, and heirs of happiness hereafter ; and they have therefore a right to the enjoyment of so much time and such opportunities as are necessary to this culture. Further still, they have a right — every man, woman, and child on this earth, which a good God has provided for human beings to occupy, has a right — to some recreation, some free participation in the delights of air, scene, and social influence, which the same God has furnished for his creatures. Society may not, without being guilty of fraud as well as cruelty, make life a burden to be endured, and only endured.

Now, with these principles in mind, if we look into society, what do we see ? Multitudes to whom life is a burden, and only a burden, — a wearisome toil, and nothing more, — a mere struggle for subsistence ; multitudes who

cannot better their condition, let them try ever so hard, for the social arrangements, the influences and customs by which they are surrounded, will not let them; thousands of women who must work all day long and through many a wearisome hour of the night, without time to read, to visit a friend, or to breathe the fresh air, lest they sink into the condition of paupers. Is this right? That men, by hard toil, week after week through the whole year, toil more incessant than we would allow them to put upon the horses we might permit them to drive, should earn but just enough to keep their families from absolute need, — is this right? Did the Creator mean, when he placed man on earth, or when he uttered that sentence of mingled severity and love, — “In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,” — did he mean, that a man’s whole time should be spent in earning that bread? No. There is a radical wrong in society, which allows such a state of things to continue from generation to generation. We speak not now of the conditions under which life is held by millions in the Old World; — neither of the wretchedness which covers beautiful Ireland, like a black cloud hanging over a silver lake, and turning its liquid splendor into darkness; nor of the uneducated hordes who till the fields or work the mines or infest the cities of Christian England, where may be found adults who know not the meaning of the word God, and children who know not how to return that simplest and purest token of affection, a kiss, — we tell of facts; * nor of the miserable crowds who besiege the traveller in the towns of Continental Europe, with want in their faces and superstition in their cry. We look at home. Is the spectacle which society presents here what it should be in a Christian land, — what it should be in any land whose inhabitants “call on the Father, who judgeth without respect of persons”? We do not wonder that some men, beholding these enormities, are moved to tears, to reproaches, and to what is far better, efforts in behalf of their fellow-beings, oppressed by the circumstances of their condition. We do not wonder that some persons are led into an exaggeration of the evils which flow from an imperfect and corrupt civilization, and are blind-

* The first of these statements rests on the authority of Reports of Parliamentary Committees, and the second is founded on a most touching incident related by one of the Domestic Missionaries in the West of England.

ed by these external provocations of sin to its primary cause in the individual will. We cannot but respect the motive which governs such persons, even when they essay the exemplification of some impracticable theory, or heap upon their age still harsher reproaches than it deserves. As men and Christians, we cannot help admiring the purpose of the "Associationists," on whom has been lavished so much weak ridicule, while we believe their methods of social reform fallacious and mischievous. Nay, in every attempt to vindicate for the laboring and suffering classes a right to share in the bounties of that Providence which offers health, knowledge, and joy to every one of our race, we recognize an element of humanity and a regard to justice that may atone for many of the sad mistakes committed by our modern philanthropists. We esteem it an occasion of rejoicing, when we see persons of intelligence and worth engaged in advocating the claims and in lightening the burdens of those who constitute the foundation on which the structure of society is raised, and who have been regarded in past times as a mere foundation, on which, provided it was strong enough to bear the superincumbent weight, no thought need be bestowed. A better era is dawning upon the civilization of Christendom. All hail to its advent! Honor and sympathy be theirs who are the heralds of its approach!

It is one of the most remarkable features of our time, that literature is beginning to take the neglected classes under its protection, and is seeking at once to secure for them a proper share of consideration, and to provide for them the means of intellectual and moral elevation. It may be safely affirmed, that the establishment of the "People's Journal" is a more important event, in view of the influence which it is suited to exert, (as it is undeniably the mark of a higher civilization,) than was the first publication, many years ago, of the *Edinburgh Review*. Nor is it extravagant to say, that Hood's "Song of the Shirt" is a nobler production than Campbell's "Hohenlinden." One is the trumpet-call of the battle-field, the other the angel-strain of mercy; we need not ask to which enlightened reason and correct taste must concur in awarding the meed of superior merit. Even the abominations of such writers as George Sand and Eugene Sue are in a measure redeemed by their sensibility to the injustice of those institutions which crush the very life out of human hearts. If hypocrisy be "the tribute which vice pays

to virtue," then the tone of philanthropy which these writers affect — if we must suppose it to be falsely assumed, which we are far from admitting — is no slight evidence of the better tendencies of the age.

"The cause of the people" has become a phrase of deep moral significance, — a phrase often, doubtless, adopted for political effect or selfish ends, but often, also, used with entire honesty and nobleness of purpose. There is twofold encouragement in the example of men of acknowledged ability laboring to produce a mitigation and final removal of the oppressive circumstances under which life has been held by the lower classes. They are the prophecies and pledges of a change in the treatment which these classes have hitherto received from those who have only condescended to look down upon them, and they show us what can be accomplished by individual, but earnest, minds. Honorable as was the title by which Elihu Burritt was known when fame had spread the story of his wonderful acquisitions, he is now earning a name by his philanthropic exertions in England, before which the celebrity of his learning fades and almost disappears.

Some of the enterprises of moral reform which distinguish our day may be styled Quixotic, and the manner in which they are conducted may seem to mark the extravagance of the insane, rather than the sobriety of an enlightened disciple of Christ. But the purpose, — this it is on which we insist, — the purpose is a noble and a sacred one. In the sacrifice of personal ease for the good of others we have evidence of the benign and penetrating spirit of Christianity. We see, too, in these reformers a moral courage and a confidence in the success of benevolent effort worthy of all admiration. They maintain, — and we certainly agree with them, — that a moral evil, whether in our own hearts or in the heart of society, should arouse all our energies for its extirpation. They believe that no sin can permanently hold its ground against disinterested and unwearied labors for its removal; — are they not right in this belief? Already we see the two institutions which have been most deeply imbedded in the habits of mankind, war and slavery, — each of them almost coeval with our race, and attending the progress of the race through the ages, — beginning to yield to the sentiment which is directed against them by those who hold them to be as unchristian in their character as they are barbarous in their

origin. Beginning to yield? It is scarcely beyond the distance of a single generation since the first practical assault was made upon the institution of slavery, and now our own country and one other alone enjoy the disgraceful preëminence among civilized nations of being its strenuous supporters. Within the recollection of persons in middle life, war was universally considered the chief means of national glory. What a change has been wrought in the convictions and sentiments of the people within this period! There are few now who will not confess that war is an outrage upon all that is sacred or tender in human relations; and they who undertake the task of its apologists are driven to the last argument within which its defence can be conducted, — that it is a necessary and ineradicable evil.

These are the two great social institutions against which Christianity and Christians need now to direct the moral force before which they must disappear. Intemperance, licentiousness, and fraud, those three chief personal vices which destroy the well-being of man, must also be exposed, rebuked, and driven from society. Legislation and punishment, the two methods by which government brings itself into connection with the life of the individual, must be regulated by a regard to the good of the individual, and not to the strength of the government. The misery which now exists in countless dwellings, and the sin which is a consequence of that misery, must be visited by the heart of philanthropy and the arm of reform. And, in a word, whatever is wrong in the opinions, usages, or organization of society must be changed. If we are asked, *How?* we answer, Not by the violence of revolution, nor by the force of theories which are of man's invention, but by Christianity, by the application of the principles of the religion of Jesus Christ to the affairs of the world, — all its affairs, all its relations, all its interests. Against the philanthropists of the day, as a class, having, however, within itself many exceptions to the remark, may be brought three charges, which, established by numerous examples, prove their unfitness to conduct the social regeneration of the age, of which we are willing to consider them the pioneers. They fall into the common error of mistaking a part of religion for the whole, making philanthropy the synonyme for all goodness, and, through their desire to bring the religion of society into proper estimation, underrating and neglecting both the religion of the Church and the religion of

the individual. They rely too much on changes in the social order, without making Christian faith, as they should, the foundation on which to build their structures of happiness for man. And, like most persons who are captivated by one object of interest, they are unjust, bitter, and fierce towards those who differ from them in regard either to principles or methods, and, by the violence of their language, disgust and repel many who would be glad to coöperate with them in calmer measures. But what if they commit these and many other errors? They are fallible men, and so are we all. They are earnest and sincere men, and such, alas! are not all. If the philanthropy of the day is partial, arrogant, and censorious, it is, beyond comparison, preferable to the indifference which looks on the evils and vices that deform society, and cares not for them. Better be a bigot in goodness, than a slave to selfishness or to custom. Better defeat one's own good purposes by extravagance of language or conduct, than not have any good purposes. Much as we deplore the mistakes connected with the movements over which is inscribed the title of reform, we believe there is one thing still more deplorable, and that is unconcern respecting the terrible woes of humanity. God forgive our want of sensibility to the miseries which afflict multitudes of our race, of our countrymen, of our townsmen and townswomen! We can excuse the error of the man who sees in social injustice the origin of all sin, and imagines that better social arrangements would secure universal virtue; but we cannot excuse the apathy which is content to let millions of God's immortal children wear out their earthly life in toil and sin, without even attempting to change the dire necessities of their condition.

Philanthropy and reform, — they are words which the Christian must not give up, and they denote exercises of thought and feeling which he must not neglect. Let him reverence the Church, with its sacred teachings, its various institutions, and its needed influences. Let him attend to the wants of his own soul, and make himself a partaker of spiritual grace and heavenly life. But let him also care for his fellow-men, and give the support of his sympathies and his coöperation to the enterprises of a divinely inspired benevolence, — such a benevolence as was seen in Him who preached the Gospel to the poor, and went about doing good. O brethren! — we would say to all whom our

words may reach, — let us help, not hinder, the work begun by the great Philanthropist and Reformer; let us hasten on, not delay, the time when society shall be pervaded and shaped by the plastic influence of Christianity. Then shall there be a healthful reaction from society upon the individual and the Church. Then shall partial manifestations of the religious sentiment be lost in the apprehension and exhibition of the perfect whole. And then shall come the millennium, when there will be no need of revivals, and no complaint of spiritual torpor. Such a result, we believe, must be brought about by the Church and the individual, each maintaining and expressing the Christian life; — the Church *through* which; the individual *in* whom, with society *on* which, Christianity shall exert its divine power. We have little faith in the value, and none in the permanence, of reforms which separate themselves from the sympathies of the Church; we lament the mistake of those who, in their zeal for the cause of reform, neglect the cultivation of the more private graces of Christian character, or fail to acknowledge their obligations to Christ as the source of all genuine philanthropy; but we long for the time when Christianity, with its visible organizations and its personal influences, shall also determine the whole structure, spirit, and action of society.

E. S. G.

ART. VI. — MARTIN LUTHER.*

THE name of Martin Luther stands for an era, and that era one of the most important in human annals. It is a name with which all are familiar, and which should be kept in constant remembrance. The publication of M. Michelet's compilation rendered into English should, we think, be duly appreciated. It places within the reach of every reader an opportunity for obtaining insight into the life and character of the great Reformer nowhere else to be found. As its title indicates, the materials of the book are gathered from Luther's

* *The Life of Martin Luther. Gathered from his own Writings.* By M. MICHELET, Author of "The History of France," "The People," etc. Translated by G. H. SMITH, F. G. S., Translator of Michelet's "History of France," etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 314.

own writings. Thus speaks M. Michelet in his Introduction : — “ Throughout the work Luther is his own spokesman, — Luther’s life is told by Luther himself. Who could be so daring as to interpolate his own expressions into the language of such a man ! Our business has been to listen to, not interrupt, him ; a rule we have observed as strictly as possible.”

Never, perhaps, since the age of Luther and the era of the Reformation, has the press been more fertile in works bearing immediately or remotely on the persons and principles identified therewith, than at the present day. Luther, mental liberty, Romanism, the Reformation, — these are topics which now stand on the pages of many of our most popular books. The artful and persevering disciples of Loyola are again making their appearance in certain countries of the European continent, and this circumstance has aroused some of the greatest minds and most eloquent pens of France on the subject of mental freedom and human progress. The Jesuitical organization is a polypus in society. The one seems as impossible to eradicate as the other. If a fibre of either be suffered to remain, danger still hangs round the subject. It will live, multiply itself, and shoot forth, to disturb, perhaps to destroy. In the Jesuits are seen the enemies of freedom and progress, and therefore they have been assailed by fact and by fiction, by direct argumentation and through the instrumentality of the exciting popular tale. Elsewhere in the Old World we perceive palpable, important, and widely differing religious movements, at once the result and the cause of much deep religious thought and earnest religious discussion. Some are verging towards Rome, smitten with the love of patristic lore and an antique ritual, and seem anxious to make up the quarrel with ancient Mother Church. Others, shocked by the exhibition of the holy coat of Treves, are flying away from her, exclaiming against her knavery and oppression. The movements with which the names of Newman and Pusey, of Ronge and Czerski, are connected were not the mere growth of an hour. That in Germany, we know, developed itself with greater suddenness in its time than did the movement in England. But this was owing to an accidental circumstance. The fields in both countries had been prepared. Thought had been exercised and expressed on the subjects involved, and those fields in due season became ripe unto the harvest. In the one country we perceive doctrines, hitherto

held cardinal, boldly laid aside, and the Papal authority openly renounced. In the other we find changes introduced in matters pertaining to the altar and vestments, and a more rigid adherence to the rubric insisted on. The preparation, the crises, and the progress of these movements would naturally be accompanied by a corresponding literature, and as between this and those there would be a mutual relation, so, likewise, there would be a mutual dependence.

Amongst the many works lately issued bearing on Romanism and the Reformation, none has acquired greater popularity or a more extensive circulation than D'Aubigné's history, which contains a copious and graphic account of the life of Martin Luther. English literature stood much in need of such a work, and M. D'Aubigné's general fidelity in all that relates to matters of fact, and his highly attractive style, have deservedly secured for his book a remarkable measure of success. As an historical performance, however, properly so called, it cannot lay claim to a high rank. The author leaves his own theological impress on every page. Luther is his hero, the special instrument of Providence for the accomplishment of a work which had been attempted in vain by "the power of the high and mighty of the earth, of kings and emperors," by "the power of letters and philosophy," and even by "the Church itself," and to sustain his hero is his undisguised aim. To quote a remark of the Edinburgh Review, made some years ago, in reference to this author's manner of writing, — "He does not aspire to illustrate the principles which determine or pervade the character, the policy, or the institutions of mankind. He arms himself with no dispassionate skepticism, and scarcely affects to be impartial." In D'Aubigné's history we get an animated account of the career of the great Reformer, but if we desire to obtain a calm and impartial view of his life and character, it must be sought elsewhere, and we know not where it can be so readily found as in the book before us by M. Michelet.

Martin Luther, with all his faults of character, was undeniably a great man. He was one of those heroes of human kind to whom we owe a deep and lasting debt of gratitude. It does us good to take a view, occasionally, of the life of such a man, — of his energy, his fortitude, his patience, his perseverance, his temptations, his trials, and his triumph. Such a survey is calculated to animate and quicken us by the forc-

ble impressions which it imparts of the value of faith and fidelity to duty.

We are prone to overrate the work of one who commands an unusual share of our admiration. But it would not be easy to overrate the work of Luther. For we must consider the age in which he lived, the enemy he assailed, the reform for which he struck, and the priceless legacy he secured for the world through the victory he obtained. He was the Elijah of the Christian dispensation, without the special gifts of the ancient Hebrew reformer. As the Mosaic religion had been corrupted and defaced, so was it likewise with the Christian. Through centuries of ignorance and darkness the craft of priests and the subtlety of scholastic philosophers had heaped invention after invention upon it. Worldly power wooed the Church of Christ and won it, and in an evil hour for the interests of humanity and religion their union was effected and consummated. Thus it was attempted to make Christ and the Cæsars occupy the same throne. But the junction was unnatural. Christ's kingdom was not of this world, while that of the Cæsars emphatically was. Avarice and ambition soon coerced the milder virtues of the Gospel. The divine spirit of Christianity, which was given for the healing of the nations and the redemption of the world, was gradually and speedily lost sight of, and an enormous temporal organization, with a powerful earthly potentate at its head, presented itself to the world as the Church of Christ. Its power and influence continued to increase with every generation, until at length it seemed as if the aggregate mind of humanity lay prostrate at its feet. Nothing was too unreasonable, nothing too absurd, for it to command men to believe; nothing too humiliating, nothing too degrading, for it to command men to perform. The scholars of the age bowed to its dictates. The occupants of thrones seemed slaves in its presence.

Such was the condition of religion up to the sixteenth century. Groaning beneath a terrible weight of abuses and corruptions, it seemed to sigh for some second Elijah to rise up and bear testimony against the wicked princes and false priests of the time. Nor did it sigh in vain. In due season one appeared, who, like the rebuker of Ahab and Baal, raised his voice fearlessly for religious reform. Earnestly and resolutely, though in the midst of thousands of enemies, did he enter on the arduous work of freeing Christianity from the

enormous abuses and corruptions which the ignorance, the craft, and the reckless ambition of ages had gathered around it, and identified with it.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century a variety of circumstances conspired to pave the way for the reformation of religion. The venality of the court of Rome was then undisguised and flagrant. The ignorance and immorality of the clergy were apparent to all. At this time the revival of letters took place. The human mind had begun to awake after a long and dreary night of slumber. Sacred learning received attention from the greatest scholars of the age. Reuchlin and Erasmus were efficient pioneers of the Reformation. The former cultivated and promoted the study of the Hebrew Scriptures. The latter — the great reviver of classical literature — employed himself in producing a critical edition of the Greek Testament. In the erection of grammar-schools throughout various parts of Germany means had been taken to quicken and improve the mass of the people. And during the preceding century the art of printing had been discovered, which, in its progress and improvement, would not only keep the general mind awake, but sharpen it, and strengthen it with tenfold strength.

Thus in the midst of an improving condition of things stood the overgrown monument of ignorance and craft, — the Church. Great and startling were its abuses and overwhelming were its errors. In looking on it, "Alps on Alps" of iniquity and wrong seem to rise before our view. But there was one enormous practical evil, in particular, which at this time raised with unblushing front its giant head in Christendom. This was the sale of indulgences. Leo the Tenth was anxious to raise a large sum of money to expend on St. Peter's, and he followed the course of his predecessors by opening a market for these, and gave his commission to itinerant venders. The following vivid description from D'Aubigné will show what now took place.

"The dealers passed through the country in a gay carriage, escorted by three horsemen, in great state, and spending freely. One might have thought it some dignitary on a royal progress, with his attendants and officers, and not a common dealer or a begging monk. When the procession approached a town, a messenger waited on the magistrate. 'The grace of God and of the Holy Father is at your gates!' said the envoy. Instantly every thing was in motion in the place. The clergy, the

priests, the nuns, the council, the schoolmasters, the trades with their flags, — men and women, young and old, — went forth to meet the merchants, with lighted tapers in their hands, advancing to the sound of music and of all the bells of the place, ‘so that,’ says an historian, ‘they could not have given a grander welcome to God himself.’ Salutations being exchanged, the whole procession moved towards the church. The Pontiff’s bull of grace was borne in front on a velvet cushion or on cloth of gold. The chief vender of indulgences followed, supporting a large wooden cross; and the whole procession moved in this manner amidst singing, prayers, and the smoke of incense. The sound of organs and a concert of instruments received the monkish dealer and his attendants into the church. The cross he bore with him was erected in front of the altar; on it was hung the Pope’s arms; and as long as it remained there, the clergy of the place, the penitentiaries, and the sub-commissioners, with white wands in their hands, came every day after vespers, or before the salutation, to do homage to it.”

The chief commissioner of indulgences was Tetzl, a Dominican monk of profligate character and unparalleled effrontery. In the course of his mission, with all his daring, with all his pomp of outward circumstance, with all his rudeness and extravagance of speech, he approached the city of Wittemberg. It was here that Martin Luther then lived, and it was here that the sale of indulgences raised a tempest which ceased not to blow until it made a wreck of the Popedom.

It was on the 31st of October, 1517, — the day before the great festival of All-Saints, when thousands were flocking towards the church of Wittemberg, and while the sale of indulgences was going on briskly beside him, — it was on the evening of that day that a man of dauntless spirit and daring hand approached the church-door of Wittemberg, bearing a hammer and nails, and a written paper. He came in the strength of God, and in obedience to conscience, and affixed that paper to the door of the church. It contained ninety-five theses disputing the doctrine of indulgences, though backed and sanctioned by all the authority of the Vatican. It was an important document, but it bore an unassuming subscription. It stated that the propositions contained in it were submitted to any or to all for discussion the following day, “with the love and desire of elucidating truth, by Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk.” No one, however, appear-

ed to dispute them on All-Saints' day. We can scarcely imagine the shock the appearance of these theses must have caused, and the sensation they must have created at the time. — They found their way everywhere with incredible rapidity. The people, who came from all parts to the city on the festival day, bore them away, and scattered them far and wide. In less than fifteen days they were distributed throughout the length and breadth of Germany. In less than a month they had reached the "eternal city" itself. They were in the hands of all, — high and low, learned and unlearned. The scholars of the country read them and admired them. The crowned heads of Germany read them and were surprised. The common people read them, or heard them read, with wonder. The cultivated and luxurious Leo the Tenth read them in his palace at Rome, and though disposed to treat the affair as a mere monkish quarrel, he probably wondered as much as any.

A crisis of vast importance had evidently arrived, — important both in itself and in its results. The Reformation had now been fearlessly and publicly commenced. It properly dates from that act of the monk of Wittemberg. And who (if we may pause to ask) were the instruments of bringing it about? The great ones of the earth? No. Reuchlin and Erasmus, the prominent revivers of learning, sprung from obscurity. Reuchlin was the son of an unassuming citizen of a provincial town in Germany. At the University of Paris we are told that he transcribed verses for the more wealthy students, and with the remuneration he received from them provided himself with books and other requisites. Erasmus was left a destitute orphan at an early age, and "he pursued his studies in the greatest poverty, but with the most indefatigable perseverance." Those who undertook the immediate work sprung from obscurity too. Zwingli came from a shepherd's hut; Melancthon, from a mechanic's workshop; Calvin emerged from a family of but small note; Luther, from a miner's cottage at Eisleben. There was one, however, of noble birth who cannot be overlooked. He threw the shield of his influence over the infancy of the Reformation, and prevented the interested despotism of ignorance and power from strangling it in its cradle. It will at once be understood that we refer to Frederick, Elector of Saxony.

But, in looking at the group of men who contributed

directly or indirectly to the progress of the Reformation, the monk of Wittemberg stands prominently in the foreground. Luther was clearly marked from them all by his boldness in protesting against the prevailing errors and corruptions, and his inflexibility in maintaining what seemed to him to be the truth. He commenced in good earnest the work of reformation, while others who beheld the abuses with disgust were held back by timidity. "Every one," said he, when writing concerning this affair, "was complaining of the indulgences; and as all the bishops and doctors had kept silence, and no one was inclined to take the bull by the horns, poor Luther became a famous doctor, because he dared to grapple with him." Yes, society was groaning for some strong intellect and bold hand to do such a thing, and Martin Luther, unassisted and alone, came out from his cloister and did it.

The early history of this remarkable man is replete with interest. But why do we confine the remark to his early history? It holds good with regard to his entire career. He remained under his father's humble roof until he was fourteen years of age, when he was removed to Magdeburg to school. Here he was accustomed, as he says himself, to beg a little bread to supply his wants. As was the custom with indigent students, he was in the habit of singing before the doors of the houses in the hope of obtaining alms. He left Magdeburg for Eisenach. Here, likewise, he was obliged to pursue a similar course, until the generosity of Conrad Cotta and his wife relieved him from the necessity. At the age of eighteen he went to the University of Erfurth. It was in the library of this place that he found the old Latin Bible which he pored over with such avidity. When he entered Erfurth it was his intention to devote himself to the study of law. But the awfully sudden death of his intimate friend Alexis had so powerful an effect upon him, that he changed his mind, and abruptly went into a cloister, to the amazement and regret of his numerous acquaintances. Though rigorously treated by the monks, and made to perform the most servile offices, he paid close attention to his studies, and to his devotional duties as a member of the brotherhood. He attracted notice, and in 1508 was appointed Professor of Philosophy at Wittemberg. But his taste lay more towards theological studies, in which he made rapid progress, and he shortly received the degree of

Bachelor of Divinity, and began to lecture on the Scriptures. While thus engaged he was invited to preach in the chapel of the Augustines at Wittemberg, — an old wooden building of small dimensions, being only thirty feet long and twenty feet broad. In this unpretending structure commenced the preaching of the Reformer.

Now we find Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk, in high repute for sanctity and learning, a popular preacher, a professor in a university, with students thronging to him from all parts. About this time (A. D. 1510) some dispute arose between the Augustinians and their vicar-general, and it was thought necessary to send a special delegate to Rome concerning the matter. Luther was selected for the mission. The impressions he received at the convents he visited on his journey, where he was astonished at the luxury of the monks, and at Rome, where he was no less astonished at the irreverence and profligacy of the clergy, had a powerful effect on his mind. On his return to Wittemberg he resumed his usual duties, and was heard to say, that he “would not for a thousand florins have missed the instruction afforded him by that journey to Rome.”

At Wittemberg he remained studious, pious, and earnest in all his duties, an eloquent lecturer, a strict disciplinarian, yet requiring no more from his students than he was prepared to submit to himself. Thus was he employed, such were his circumstances and position, when Tetzel came vending indulgences. Thousands flocked to him. Many who came to Luther to confess positively refused either to perform the required penances or to abandon their sins, alleging as a reason for their refusal the purchase of indulgences. Here, then, he saw at once a gigantic practical evil in the midst of society, one that was likely to overturn all sound morality, and he was determined to have it corrected. When he published his theses, he had hoped that the authority of the Pope would be exercised to check so flagrant an evil as that of the indulgences, as soon as its magnitude and enormity were made fully known. But it was not so; and the monk was goaded on from one stage to another, until he was driven into open rupture and deadly hostility to the Supreme Pontiff. He was cited to appear at Rome to answer for his course, but through the interference of the Elector of Saxony, who submitted, that, as the offence occurred in Germany, the offender should be tried before a tribunal in that

country, he was commanded to appear at Augsburg before the Pope's legate, who insisted on submission and retraction, both of which Luther plainly refused to make, unless convinced of his error. From the first he had taken his stand upon the written word of God, and to this he uniformly appealed. He became involved in various disputations with some of the most learned doctors of the time. His fame was now everywhere. Even the royal pen of a Tudor was provoked against him. At the instance of the Pope, he was obliged to appear several times to answer for his conduct, but he always had the same reply, — that he would neither submit nor retract, unless convicted of error from the Holy Scriptures.

The 15th of June, 1520, was an evil day for Rome. Then it was she issued the bull of excommunication against Martin Luther. To this suicidal act the Pontiff was incited by some of his immediate advisers, who had more zeal than judgment, and were more impelled by their own passions than guided by knowledge of the man against whom they were proceeding. Instead of being intimidated and crushed by this act, as his short-sighted adversaries thought he would be, Luther was incensed, and seemed to gather double courage. The Pope had publicly and ignominiously burned his writings, as well as excommunicated him as an obstinate heretic, to be delivered over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh; and the denounced monk was determined not to be a whit behind his powerful adversary. He was resolved to retaliate word for word, and act for act. Leo the Tenth had assailed him as Pope, and Martin Luther was determined to stand on his rights as a man. An humble monk, the son of a poor miner at Eisleben, fearlessly confronted one of the illustrious family of the Medici, seated on the Pontifical throne. Leo the Tenth, in the name of the Church, had, by a public edict, pronounced Luther the monk an obstinate heretic, to be cut off from the community of the faithful, and shunned by all good Christians. Luther the monk, in the name of Christianity, did, by solemn protest, pronounce Leo the Tenth "a heretic and apostate, — misguided, hardened, and condemned by the Holy Scriptures." The Pope of Rome had in his own city summoned his courtiers and cardinals, and caused a pile to be erected and fired, into which, in presence of all, were thrown the writings of the monk of Wittenberg.

The monk of Wittemberg did in his own city collect his students and fellow-citizens, and cause a pile to be erected and fired, into which, in presence of all, he cast the canon law, and the decretals of Rome ; and lastly, and with peculiar solemnity, was thrown into the flames the edict of excommunication issued against himself.

This act made the breach complete. An impassable chasm was now created between the monk of Wittemberg and the sovereign Pontiff. He had placed himself in a position from which there was no retraction, no return. He had not only set the Pope at defiance, but he had perpetrated the greatest possible insult to his authority ; and he must abide the issue of a deed of such unparalleled daring.

Such were the circumstances and position of Luther, when Charles the Fifth, the young and newly elected emperor, arrived in Germany, and summoned the celebrated Diet at Worms. It was given out that the main purpose of this assembly was to adopt measures to check the progress of the new opinions. As soon as the Diet assembled, the legate from the court of Rome alleged that that body was bound at once to condemn a man whom the Pope had already excommunicated. Frederick of Saxony, however, insisted that Luther should have a hearing. To this great assembly, therefore, he was summoned, and a safe conduct granted for his journey. His friends were in great alarm at this, for they thought they saw in it his certain destruction. But no alarm seized the mind of Luther. He prepared to go, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of his friends to desist. It was in vain they reminded him of the fate of John Huss. His blunt and well-known reply was, — “ I am fairly called to go to Worms, and to Worms I will go, though there were as many devils there as tiles upon the houses.” And to Worms he went.

What an august assembly was there ! And how worthy of contemplation when the humble Augustinian monk stood before it ! There he was, the conscientious and intrepid champion of human rights, pleading for himself, pleading for humanity, in presence of the collected power and grandeur of the world. Before him was the brilliant and imposing array of the crowned heads of Germany. Around him were lords temporal and spiritual, — dukes and bishops, archdukes and archbishops. The Papal emissaries were there, strong in the presumed power of their master, glancing envy

and hate at the fearless Reformer. Ambassadors from foreign courts were there, looking with intense eagerness on the scene which they were soon to depict for their courtly employers at home. The flower of the empire's greatness thronged that court, — its pride of blood and pride of learning, — and every eye was turned on Luther. And raised above all, presiding on the imperial throne, sat the illustrious son of an illustrious race, — Charles, the greatest monarch of his time, the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella. It was an august assembly, but the monk appeared undismayed before it. He neither bates nor falters. Luther cares not for crown, coronet, or crosier, when the truth is to be confessed and maintained. His language here is substantially the same as it had been before the less imposing tribunals. He is called on to retract; but his reply is characteristic, — marked by an unbroken resolution, and a striking simplicity. "If I am not convinced by proof from Holy Scriptures, or by cogent reasons, I neither can nor will retract; for," he continues, "it cannot be right for a Christian to speak against his conscience." And then, casting his eloquent eye around that great assembly which was to pronounce his fate, he added, — "Here I am, — I cannot say otherwise; — God help me!"

It was on his way from the Diet at Worms, that the friendly seizure of his person was made, when he was carried away to the castle of Wartburg. Here he was kept until the dangerous violence of the storm had in a good degree abated. This place of concealment he was accustomed to call his Patmos. Here, like Elijah in the wilderness, he had to hide from the vengeance his truth-telling spirit had provoked. But he was not idle in his retirement. He wrote many useful tracts, and sent them among his friends to encourage and strengthen them. In his seclusion at Wartburg he commenced what may be called his greatest work, — we mean his translation of the New Testament into the common language of the country. But it was not finished here, for the violent proceedings of Carlostadt induced Luther to emerge from his retirement, and appear publicly at Wittemberg once more. Here he remained, preaching and writing, sometimes against the ancient corruptions of Rome, and sometimes against the further innovations of fellow-reformers more radical than himself. When about forty years of age, he married Catharine de Bora, in whom he

found a faithful and affectionate wife, notwithstanding the little charges of pettishness sometimes urged against her. After a life of constant and untiring exertion until his sixty-third year, he died at Eisleben, to which place he had gone with the view of effecting a reconciliation between the two counts of Mansfeld, who were then at variance. He attended the conferences at Eisleben until the 17th of February, on which day he was seized with his last illness, which speedily terminated in his death. His remains were conveyed to Wittemberg, and interred there on the 22d of February, 1546.

In looking at the character of Luther, the first thing that strikes our notice is his amazing intrepidity, and his great firmness in maintaining whatever advanced ground he was led to occupy. We have ample proof of the former in the bold act of his putting forth the theses at Wittemberg. And although we find him occasionally changing his ground, his movement is never retrogressive. The evidence of his intrepidity is multiplied through his whole life. His boldness seems to increase in proportion to the width of the chasm which separates him from the Papacy. It does not seem that Luther contemplated any rebellion against the Pope when he protested against the indulgences. His strong persuasion of the enormous evil of these conspired with his natural boldness of disposition to make him utter a distinct and determined voice against them; but at this time he would have cut off his right hand rather than have assailed the person or the authority of the Pope. When he uttered his powerful word he was astonished at the general sympathy he received, and as Rome began to threaten and denounce him, instead of attempting to remove the evils of which he complained, he began to perceive likewise that there were other powers in heaven and earth besides those which dwelt in the Vatican. The Sacred Scriptures had long been his favorite study. In them he recognized the pure source of truth, he imbibed the doctrines he found there as best he could, and in the exercise of an earnest faith he held communion with his God, without recognizing any ecclesiastical intervention. Luther was accustomed to feel the power and the presence of God. And as the students of Wittemberg gave to his propositions a loud and welcome response, which was heard reverberating more or less throughout the country, he began to perceive further that there was some earthly power in Germany as well as in Rome.

Luther's progress in this respect is worthy of note. It may be seen by his letters as given in M. Michelet's book. It was on the 31st of October, 1517, that he attached his theses to the door of Wittenberg church. The news of the controversy soon reached Rome. And in a letter bearing date "Day of the Blessed Trinity, 1518," Luther addressed a letter to the Pope, in which his language is most dutiful and submissive. "Most holy Father," he says, "I cast myself at your feet, with the offer of myself and all that is in me. Pronounce the sentence of life or death; call, recall, approve, disapprove; *I acknowledge your voice to be the voice of Christ who reigns and speaks in you.*" In the course of the next March he addressed another letter to the Pope. In the mean time he had disputed with the Papal legates, and had fully felt his superiority over them. He had been cited to appear at Rome, but found he had friends among the princes who could influence the Vatican so far as to have the place of trial changed to the German city of Augsburg. In the mean time, too, the Emperor Maximilian had been heard to say, — "What your monk is doing is not to be regarded with contempt; the game is about to begin with the priests. Make much of him; it may be that we may want him." The Emperor, however, died in January, 1519; and Frederick of Saxony, the friend of Luther, became vicar of the empire. The letter of Luther is dated March 3d. His style is still respectful, but there is an obvious change of tone when compared with the previous letter. The voice of the Pope and the voice of Christ are no longer identical. The Church, however, rules over all. Nothing is superior to it, *save Jesus Christ.*

"Most holy Father, I cannot support the weight of your wrath, yet know not how to escape from the burden. Thanks to the opposition and attacks of my enemies, my words have spread more widely than I could have hoped for, and they have sunk too deeply into men's hearts for me to retract them. In these our days, Germany flourishes in erudition, reason, and genius; and if I would honor Rome before her, I must beware of retraction, which would be only sully the Roman Church still further, and exposing it to public accusation and contempt. It is they who, abusing the name of your Holiness, have made their absurd preaching subserve their infamous avarice, and have sullied holy things with the abomination and reproach of Egypt, that have done the Roman Church injury and dishonor with Germany. And as if this was not mischief enough, it is against

me, who have striven to oppose those monsters, that their accusations are directed. But I call God and men to witness, most holy Father, that I have never wished, and do not now desire, to touch the Roman Church or your sacred authority; and that I acknowledge most explicitly that this Church rules over all, and that nothing heavenly or earthly is superior to it, *save Jesus Christ our Lord.*"

Another year found him assuming a much more independent and daring attitude. The politic Miltitz, finding that menace was of no avail with the contumacious monk, had begun to flatter him. He had accepted Doctor Eck's challenge to a disputation at Leipsic, and had returned to Wittenberg only to issue new challenges to the champions of Rome, offering them at the same time a safe conduct from the Elector, and undertaking "to lodge them and pay their expenses." He had by this time arrived at a stage of experience in which he looked back upon his former mode of treating things with a feeling of regret, partaking somewhat of contempt.

"Whether willingly or not," he says, "I improve every day, pushed as I am, and kept in wind by so many masters of fence at once. Two years ago I wrote on indulgences; but in a style which makes me *deeply regret* I ever published the work. Would to God I could induce booksellers and all who have read my writings on indulgences to burn them, and not to leave a line behind, so that they would substitute for all I have said on the subject this one axiom, — Indulgences are bubbles devised by the sycophants of Rome!"

After a similar manner he "earnestly prays booksellers and readers" to burn his former writings on the Papal supremacy. In 1520 the bull of excommunication was issued against him, and this brought forth his pamphlet "Against the Execrable Bull of *Antichrist.*" Henceforth the Pope is dealt with in no measured terms. Rome and the Reformer are now at unqualified and deadly hostility.

From this progressive character of Luther's assaults upon Rome, it would appear that he did not so much lead the mind of the age, as simply expound it with a bold and fearless utterance. Public opinion, once set in motion, rose with a mighty swell, and carried its daring exponent triumphantly along with it. Luther's place was on the crest of the foremost billow, and this broke with tremendous force upon the ancient fabric of ecclesiastical corruption. It re-

quired a man of rare power to maintain the position. We know of no other man of his age who could have done so.

Luther's rudeness and violence were the natural results of his temperament and circumstances. His passions were strong and impetuous, his keen eye scanned the Papal corruptions to the core, he lived in a rude age, and he found himself menaced, abused, and assailed as a devil in human form. His language, therefore, is not always tuned to a mild key. In many parts it would be highly offensive to "ears polite." To look for a mild tone and a polished style in Luther's writings would be about as reasonable as to look for peaches on an apple-tree in winter. His violence, we admit, was a drawback on his character. But his violence, after all, was only an extreme manifestation of his constitutional energy; and what would the Reformer's character be, wanting this? Melancthon was mild, but Melancthon could never have done the work of Luther. He was not insensible to his own violence, however, and in this fact we perceive evidence of the strong, sound sense which marked his character. To Spalatin he writes:—"I cannot deny that I was more violent than I need have been; but they knew it, and should not have provoked the dog. You can judge by yourself how difficult it is to moderate one's fire and restrain one's pen." And to Brentius he writes:—"I seek not to flatter or deceive thee, and I do not deceive myself, when I say that I prefer thy writings to my own. It is not Brentius whom I praise, but the Holy Ghost, who is gentler and easier in thee. Thy words flow pure and limpid. My style, rude and unskilful, vomits forth a deluge, a chaos of words, boisterous and impetuous as a wrestler contending with a thousand successive monsters." And again:—"I am far from believing myself without fault, but I can at least glorify myself with St. Paul, that I cannot be accused of hypocrisy, and that I have always spoken the truth, perhaps, it is true, a little too harshly. But I would rather sin in disseminating the truth with hard words, than shamefully retain it captive."

The superstitions of Luther, also, resulted from his circumstances, and belonged to his times. The belief in apparitions and goblins was familiar to the age. He was subject to certain bodily ailments which could not fail to affect his mind, and the constant turmoil in which he was involved left its peculiar impress upon his spirit. As the world was imaged in the mind of the Reformer, it had all the portents of

approaching dissolution. The earth and the heavens were alike giving forth signs. "Gulfs opened" before his eyes ["before my own eyes] at eight o'clock in the evening," and "the heavens were seen in flames above the church in Breslau." Such tokens, he thinks, announce the last day. "The empire is falling, kings are falling, priests are falling, and the whole world totters; just as small fissures announce the approaching fall of a large house. . . . The world hastens to its end, and I often think the day of judgment may well overtake me before I have finished my translation of the Holy Scriptures." From the peculiar character of Luther's mind, any belief that possessed it assumed a remarkable degree of vividness, and took the form of a distinct and palpable reality. His notion of a devil was not that of a mere spiritual existence, however real, exercising his diabolic sway by stealth and stratagem alone over the minds of men. The Devil, to his apprehension, was indeed a veritable personage, visible and tangible too, the frequent tormenter of his individual self, hating all mockery, and having a wholesome horror of drollery and good music. "An aged priest," says he, "at his prayers one day, heard the Devil behind him, trying to hinder him, and grunting as loud as a whole drove of pigs. He turned round, without manifesting the least alarm, and said, — 'Master Devil, you have caught what you deserved; you were a fine angel, and now you are a filthy hog.' The grunting stopped at once, for the Devil cannot bear to be mocked." Again he says: — "The best way to expel the Devil, if he will not depart for texts from Holy Scripture, is to jeer and flout him." "Those tried by temptations may be comforted by generous living; but this will not do for all, especially not for the young. As for myself, who am now in years, a cheerful cup will drive away my temptations and give me a sound sleep." "The best cure for temptations is to begin talking about other matters, as of Marcolphus, the Eulenspiegel, and other drolleries of the kind, etc. The Devil is a melancholy spirit, and cheerful music soon puts him to flight." But the most notable encounter which the Reformer had with the Devil was during his seclusion in the castle of Wartburg. This we do not find noticed in M. Michelet's chapter on Luther's diabolic temptations. He appeared to him when he was commencing his translation of the Scriptures, and so threatening did he become in his aspect and attitude, that Luther in self-defence

flung the ink-bottle at his head. And, like the mark of Rizzio's blood on the floor of Holyrood House, so is the mark of Luther's fractured ink-bottle still shown, on the wall of his chamber in the castle of Wartburg, to the curious traveller who visits that interesting place.

Such weaknesses of the Reformer stand in striking contrast with his general boldness of character and soundness of judgment. But the combination of superstitious weakness and great intellectual strength has been by no means singular in times past. Bacon, philosopher as he was, had a firm faith in witchcraft. The Reformer and the Philosopher were the greatest men of their respective ages ; but the popular superstitions which they imbibed with their mother's milk, and to which their wondering childhood had listened with eager ears and trembling delight, took a deeper root in their nature than did the commonly received theological and philosophical doctrines which became the study of their more mature years. Luther's mental vision was vigorous and distinct, and his aim practical. He glanced through sophism, subtlety, and pretence. Hence his victories over Rome and her doctors, which still inspired him with confidence and courage. He had no desire to ascend into the clouds, but always strove to secure solid ground beneath his feet, and was well contented to remain there. He had scarcely patience with the mysticism of some of his contemporaries. His mode of treating one of them throws a ray of light upon his character which we may introduce here. One Marcus, a mystic, sought an interview with him.

"After talking a long time," says Luther, "about the *talent* that must not be hid, and about *purification*, *weariness*, *expectation*, I asked him who understood his language. He answered, that he preached only before believing and able disciples. 'How do you know that they are able?' I asked. 'I have only to look at them,' he replied, 'to see their *talent*.' 'What talent, now, my friend, do you see in me?' 'You are still,' he answered, 'in the first stage of *mobility*; but a time will come when you will be in the first stage of *immobility*, like myself.' On this, I adduced to him several texts of Scripture, and we parted. Shortly after he wrote me a very friendly letter, full of exhortations; to which my sole answer was, — '*Adieu, dear Marcus.*'"

It is quite evident that Master Marcus and Doctor Luther were in very different latitudes of thought.

Nowhere, we think, throughout Luther's career, did he show more tact and judgment than in his interference in

the matter of the insurgent peasants. The masses of the people, debased and ground down by long feudal tyranny, when they saw the spell of authority broken in things spiritual, were not slow to carry the spirit of revolt into things temporal. Luther and his associates had humbled priestcraft, and declared themselves independent of the power that tyrannized over them. But *noblecraft* required to be humbled likewise. So thought the oppressed and ill-treated peasants of Western Germany. The priest ruled the soul, but the noble ruled the body, and that too with a rod of iron. Until his despotism was levelled to the dust, the indignant peasants looked upon the Reformation as incomplete. They moved in thousands, with all the enthusiasm and desperation of men aroused to a sense of their wrongs. Partial revolts had been made prior to the Reformation, but never had matters assumed so serious an aspect as at this time. Luther was charged as the primary author of these calamities. But no man grieved for them more. The Thuringian peasants were under the leadership of Munzer, a rash and sanguinary man, who paid the penalty of his violence by the forfeit of his life. The Suabian peasants were more moderately advised, and their address and twelve articles of grievance remain a remarkable monument of their innate sense of right, and proper temper in asserting it. Luther undertook the office of arbiter between them and the nobles. This was a delicate task, and not without some danger. But he executed it judiciously and well. In his address in reply to the articles of the peasants, he employs neither evasion nor circumlocution in letting the nobles know their faults and oppressions. He is alive to the wrongs of the peasants, and sympathizes with them. He exhorts them to "prosecute their enterprise conscientiously and justly." He dissuades them from violence, as being contrary to Gospel law. * He shows both parties that neither is "maintaining a Christian cause," the nobles being guilty of oppression and injustice, and the peasants threatening vengeance for their own wrongs. He recommends them to select delegates to arrange the matter in dispute, in order that fighting, with its sins and horrors, may be averted.

We cannot overlook the inconsistency of Luther in his conduct in relation to the polygamy of the Landgrave of Hesse. But we are not desirous of enlarging on it at present. We are far from insisting on perfection of character for

the great Reformer. His excellences were many, but he was not without his faults. In social and domestic life he was open, cheerful, generous, and kind. It is interesting to compare Luther at the domestic hearth, with his family and friends, with Luther at Leipsic or Worms, in the arena of disputation or before the tribunal of judgment. His faith in God was vivid and powerful, and his trust constant. His trials in life were many and various, but he held on his way faithfully, and in his day and generation did his work manfully and well.

In closing this notice of the career and character of Martin Luther suggested by the book before us, it may not be out of place to offer a remark on the essential basis of the Reformation. What, let us ask, was the fundamental principle of this great Reformation, of which Luther was so powerful an instrument? It was the authority of Scripture alone, with the involved right of private judgment. We perceive this in the replies he constantly gave to the demands made on him to submit and retract. Whether before the individual legate, or before an august assembly of princes, prelates, and nobles, his answer was, — "Unless I am convinced from Holy Scriptures, I will not retract." The right of the individual mind to inquire for itself, and the sufficiency of the written word as a rule of faith and practice, — these, we say, were the fundamental points of the Reformation.

This view of the matter leads us to regard the work of the great Reformer in a correct light. His name and memory are to be venerated; not, however, because he was the rectifier of religious doctrine, but because he was the asserter of human rights. Luther retained doctrines as unsound and erroneous as some which he discarded. Consubstantiation, as far as it is intelligible, is as absurd as transubstantiation. He had not a sufficiently cool temper for a sound theologian. He rejected the Epistle of James because he could not make it harmonize with his interpretation of St. Paul, and stigmatized it as worthless. Justification by faith alone was a favorite doctrine with him. When he assailed the indulgences, he was led to assert this doctrine in opposition to the Papal dogma of superfluous merit, upon which the theory of indulgences was based. From this circumstance it acquired, we think, an undue ascendancy in his mind. Melancthon, his intimate friend and fellow-laborer, did not agree with him in his views concerning justification by faith alone. It

seems surprising that persons should be found to speak of any peculiar doctrine of the Reformation ; since no historical fact is more clearly ascertained, than that there was a diversity of opinion among the Reformers of the sixteenth century. Look at Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Zwingle, Socinus ; who requires to be told that among these there was diversity of opinion ? But they all agreed in renouncing Church authority, and accepting the Holy Scriptures as their standard, and asserted the right of the individual mind to think and judge for itself in matters of religion.

The plain truth is, that Luther and the first Reformers, by asserting this principle and standing on it as they did, laid the *basis* of the Reformation. And to whatever extent they availed themselves of it, and acted upon it in clearing away errors and abuses, to that extent they commenced and carried on the *work* of reformation. At best, however, the labors of Luther and his associates can be regarded only as a commencement. The accumulated errors of fifteen centuries could not be swept away at once. The work of religious reform has still to be carried on. The simple form of Christianity is yet sadly marred by human additions ; and the obligation remains upon us all to do our part in restoring it to its primitive purity and loveliness.

J. C.

ART. VII. — THE AMERICAN LOYALISTS.*

THE author of the work before us seems to consider the political class of whom he treats as an almost neglected topic, until a very recent day. Our own experience leaves us not without a fellow-feeling of the difficulties attending such a research. It is scarcely half a dozen years since that, having engaged to render some account of a portion only — though a very select and respectable one — of this obnoxious body, we were met at the threshold by the want of some work speaking of them otherwise than in the most cursory or casual manner. Of this sort are the references by Hutchin-

* *The American Loyalists, or Biographical Sketches of the Adherents to the British Crown in the War of the Revolution ; alphabetically arranged, with a Preliminary Historical Essay.* By LORENZO SABINE. Boston : Little & Brown. 1847. 8vo. pp. 720.

son, in the latter half of the third volume of his History, to the members of our Massachusetts Assembly who were well affected to the crown ; — notices so slight and meagre as poorly to satisfy, if they even stimulated, curiosity. Within the brief period, however, just named, have appeared the *Journal and Letters of Curwen*, a Salem "absentee" (1842), the *Life of Peter Van Schaack*, of New York (1842), a person of much higher weight of talent and character and a much valued friend of Mr. Jay, and Colonel Simcoe's "*Operations of the Queen's Rangers*" (1844), a partisan corps made up entirely of Southern loyalists. But earlier than all, be it remembered, were (so far as they went, — that customary qualifying phrase) certain sketches of graduates of Harvard of anti-revolutionary principles at the opening of the Revolution. These nameless memorials took refuge under the covers of the *American Quarterly Register*, a work whose cessation (we should be rather glad to say suspension) many of us yet mourn ; and have not come, we are constrained to infer, under Mr. Sabine's notice, though, on the other hand, not a few things in his volume, both facts and dates, puzzle us a little in thus believing.

That the class of men in question have not before this been a subject of distinct, separate consideration, amply as the period of the Revolution has been illustrated in our day, is no less matter of wonder than of regret. The delay, too, has been seriously prejudicial to our getting, with the desired precision, points of personal history. One generation at least, if not more, now in every case intervenes between the actors and their biographers. It will be readily seen how greatly it adds to this embarrassment, when those of whom one is in quest have died in a foreign land, and left not a vestige of themselves behind. This is the first form of the twofold difficulty which attends inquiries touching the American Loyalists. The several Hutchinsons and Olivers have become names only of the memory, which may be said also of Richard Lechmere, of Auchmuty, of William Browne of Salem, of Jonathan Sewall, of James Putnam, father and son. No pulse hereabouts now beats with the blood of the lordly Vassals of Cambridge, Boston, and Quincy. Commodore Loring of Jamaica Plain, one of the commissioners of excise, Colonel Murray of Rutland, whose rotundity made him a butt as the Falstaff of his day, and Colonel Royall of Medford (except that he still lives in his bounty to Cam-

bridge), all are gone, root and branch. The Hon. John Chandler of Worcester, whose sons and daughters were as numerous as those of his royal master, and with whose family every other leading family of the region was proud to entwine itself by marriage alliance, sleeps far away from the town and shire of whose honors he had almost the monopoly, and the very name had there died out, as we learn from Lincoln, a full generation ago. As to the Borlands, the Ervings, the Brinleys, saving some little qualification, the same statement may essentially be made.

But other families there were who either returned or remained, the latter breasting, as they best could, the antipathy to which they were subjected. With the descendants of too many of these there exists a foolish weakness or false shame, which leads to the disguising or varnishing over of the real position taken by their friends at the crisis of the Revolution. Here lies the other part of the twofold difficulty referred to which meets the antiquary. The common explanation resorted to in behalf of such is, to rescue their patriotism at the expense of their firmness or courage. How much is thus gained to the final reputation of those concerned may well admit of doubt. They approved, it is said, no more than others, the arbitrary course of government, but were dismayed at the prospect of so hopeless a struggle, and bowed before the storm. Rightly understood, however, that they thought not so badly as their friends of this or that measure of the colonial policy is really no blot upon their escutcheon. Who takes it upon him to say, that the opinions in the one instance were not as likely to be independent and honest as in the other? for, of course, our query applies not to the office-holders, but to the gentry simply, the majority of whom were as sincerely and confidently on the same side of the question. Patriotism and loyalty are not, of necessity, at swords' points at all, however thus arrayed in common speech; and in fact, we do not doubt, that among those who to the last hour "honored the king," not only were to be found the most liberal and public-spirited of the community, (it was, perhaps, their place of right so to be), but as true friends and seekers as any of their country's good, — as they understood it. But the timidity of those claiming kindred with them in our day, at which we have hinted, that desires to throw a veil over this part of their history, is all a mistake; sometimes, to be sure, amusing, when it does not,

as now and then happens, tread on the verge of truth. The writer of a very brief sketch of Major Thomas Brattle (Mass. Hist. Coll.) wastes most of his space — very suspiciously, we think — in eulogium upon him as an excellent patriot; and when we were first told, to our surprise and almost skepticism, of Curwen himself, as having been a refugee, we at once recurred (sure of having seen it) to the notice of him which followed his decease (Salem Gazette), and lo! an ostracism of ten years was not an event in the life of a quiet citizen thought worth even alluding to.

The position of Mr. Sabine has been, as he rightly conceives, very favorable to the service which he has undertaken, of ferreting out the history of a class of men over whom to such an extent obscurity has come, and — as may be thought from our preceding remarks — who have themselves seemed to wish to help forward that result. Among those who finished their course in the Provinces, — for aught we know, the majority, — he probably felt himself entirely at home. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick might be almost said to have been colonized anew with the peace of 1783; the latter, from the large accession given it by “the fifty-five grantees,” of whom Abijah Willard of Lancaster was the principal, it was thought best to organize as a distinct government, and St. John's, St. Andrew's, and other places, then took a start in their growth, which might rather justify calling it the date of their origin. Whatever his Majesty lost by the unhappy Revolution, certain it is that his Majesty's Northern colonies gained immensely. It shows most strikingly the previous paucity of educated men in that region, that in 1815, when Edward Winslow the younger (of Plymouth) made by his death a breach in their number, the entire bench of New Brunswick was composed of American Loyalists, three of the four, including the chief justice, being sons of Harvard. Mr. Sabine, however, does not seem to have depended upon, or contented himself with, the vantage-ground afforded by his observatory station, but to have visited, or corresponded with, the remoter and southern portions of the Union, and to have explored *con amore* and with laudable diligence the Acts of the various State assemblies, and the few other sources of information that yet remain. In truth, so far as sectional and prevalent sentiment on the great question was concerned, it is idle to the last degree to dispute that the stronghold of the royal cause was in the trans-Potomac colonies; and fur-

ther, we believe there were more Loyalists in the Middle States than in New England. No name, for example, in the latter could boast of equal potency and influence with the Delancey house of New York. The author, it is pleasant to find, is entirely of our opinion on this head, and enters upon this, as some may think, delicate subject with a becoming freedom, feeling that in a thorough survey of the public mind such a comparative view was unavoidable, and that he was fully sustained. Though the South Carolina statesmen of the present day, he observes, have urged that "her patriotic devotion" at the time of the great struggle "was inferior to none, and exceeded most of the confederated States," yet, tried by the law and the testimony, it was not so. "Some gallant Whigs she sent to the field, and several wise ones to the council." But as "one swallow makes not summer," according to the homely saying, so the names of the elder or younger Laurens, of Middleton, and Rutledge, in debate, or of Marion, Sumpter, and Pickens in the strife, will do little "to prove that the Whig leaven was diffused through the mass of the people."

Mr. Sabine's statements are not only, without doubt, well founded, but to any one aware of the very unlike character of the opposite extremes of the country they commend themselves as perfectly natural and credible. The dividing line between the grades of Southern society was more broadly defined and obvious, slavery apart, than there is any idea of among us. It is so at this day, we presume, but the remark was far more true then; the condition of things being, in all material points, analogous to that in the mother-land. The "distinction of ranks" once admitted and carried into life, and the higher gentry regarded as a virtual nobility, from that platform the upward eye will be turned with admiring envy and special reverence to the rank which is the highest of all and the fountain of all, and which is felt to be the more august from being distant and unseen. This inclination to the crown, Episcopacy — which was there, to all intents, the Establishment — cherishes and matures into a fixed habit of the mind.

Our author, in proof of his point, goes on to show in detail, from authentic documents, the relative proportion of troops furnished to the field by the different portions of the Confederacy, presenting Massachusetts (as every body knows already) on a proud elevation. The number contrib-

uted by Virginia and the Carolinas is truly meagre, and almost ludicrously so, when compared with their population ; so much of the military array of the land being found under the opposite banner. South Carolina, in particular, says Mr. Sabine, "furnished only 752 more than Rhode Island, the smallest State of the confederacy ; only one fifth of the amount of Connecticut ; only one half as many as New Hampshire, then an almost unbroken wilderness. She could not defend herself against her own Tories ; and it is hardly an exaggeration to add, that more Whigs of New England were sent to her aid, and now lie buried in her soil, than she sent from it to every scene of strife from Lexington to Yorktown." But to these facts we do but allude. Our own province and purpose is of another kind. We do not, indeed, think to take cognizance of the author in the largest extent of his title, "*American Loyalists*" ; but prefer, in the remarks that follow, to come nearer home, — to our own native region, and especially to the educated men, which term, to be sure, is to so great an extent identical with the party.

At the very threshold, the tests of loyalty it is not in all cases very easy to settle beyond dispute. There are a half-hundred or more names in his biographical sketches, where the author has no overt act to allege, it would appear, but the having been an "addresser" * of Hutchinson or Gage at coming into office or retiring from it. There is good reason, probably, to include the far greater part of such signers, without looking further ; not excepting such as did not scruple to disavow what they had done, upon "finding it gave offence to their countrymen." Having glanced at this feature of those times, it is not easy to avoid saying that the tone and language of these recantations were, with few exceptions,† quite humble enough, after allowing all that should be allowed for the risks and the fears of those who made them. Now and then, indeed, one might think that these same risks had been

* Thus, the author includes in his catalogue George Bethune, a merchant of Boston, and Shearjashub Bourne, a native of Scituate, and barrister in Bristol, R. I., both sons of Harvard. We have not hitherto reckoned them as of the party, yet he may be right. Indeed, as to Bethune he names some other circumstances favoring such an opinion. One unknown Loyalist, however (Moses Gerrish), Mr. Sabine's book has revealed to us, and him we gratefully accept, without demur or question.

† The worthiest ones in the Boston papers, 1765 – 1775, that occur to us, are those of Richard Clark, tea-consignee and merchant, and of William Browne, of Salem, afterwards governor of the Bermudas.

quite too much for the sincerity and truth of the writers, keeping in mind their decided course in the sequel. A paper of this sort by Colonel Royall, of Medford, comes up before us at this moment in illustration; a man who, to be sure, was, by tradition, of a most womanly timorousness. As to certain of these individuals, it is safe to presume that their names were extorted from them by over-solicitation; since they are not known to have afterwards committed themselves, or rather were, in the view of all candid judgment, good friends to their country's cause. Even of this slight and solitary act they had probably in their after-career good reason, not to be ashamed, indeed, but to repent; since, in the unscrupulous and base devices of high party times, no circumstances of a man's early life escape the search of the hunters, and all means towards victory are counted "fair in politics." Again, a better evidence of loyalty, at least of standing well in the good graces of the vicegerent of power, was the post of mandamus counsellor; but which, however much valued on that score, was too hazardous an honor greedily to clutch at for at least two or three years before the final outbreak. Then, once more, there are the proscribing and the confiscating Acts of the several State legislatures. But the lists of the former are strangely imperfect, — speaking at least for that of Massachusetts, with which we are most familiar; and the actual execution of the latter was a thing so uncertain, as to be liable to be averted almost at the last moment by some happy interposition.

In fact, a strange obscurity hangs over the real fate of some noted estates, even within the environs of the city. Much as the local histories — unknown till our happy time — are to be prized, it would be to the authors of some of them (either published or in expectancy) an item worthy of special regard, to designate the houses upon which this sombre mark has been affixed. But as reliable testimony, we assure these historiographers, vulgar tradition is little to be heeded. They must go deeper than that. Yet the roll of these doomed mansions throughout the whole State is not, we suppose, very large, and the towns as to which the exactness and skepticism enjoined by us are specially needful are very few. Besides our metropolis (the number of such residences in which we venture not to conjecture), four or five other places at once suggest themselves, — as Cambridge, Quincy, Salem, Portsmouth, Worcester, etc. It is our impression,

without time or trouble bestowed, that in the first-named there were double the number of confiscated estates to that of any other place in the State. All the houses,* as we suspect, then standing upon what is called the Watertown road, from John Vassal's *palace* (which the general-in-chief of the rebel forces did not disdain for his quarters) and his uncle's, Colonel Henry Vassal, nearly opposite, for a mile upward, to Thomas Oliver's (now Rev. Dr. Lowell's), came under this ban ; unless, indeed, excepting that of Judge Lee. That of Sheriff Phips (afterwards the seat of William Winthrop), the well-known Borland house, and, we were just about to say, the Brattle estate, might be added to the list. But the latter (so says Mrs. John Adams, — Letters) was saved from this decree by a single vote in the Massachusetts Assembly ; so greatly to the popular indignation, that several members who helped to make that majority were thrown from their places in the next House. Major Thomas Brattle, returned from his exile, had been for two years awaiting at Newport in suspense and solicitude the uncertain movement of the popular tide. That there were two confiscated estates in Quincy was commonly told by the few contemporaries who till a late period survived ; one being the residence of the ex-President, bought by his father (then in England) through his agent here shortly after the peace ; the other, that in the occupancy of the venerable John Greenleaf, to whom it descended from his father-in-law, the late Hon. Richard Cranch. But it has come out that the latter was purchased from a West India emigrant and alien, even prior to the spring of 1775 ; and thus the local tradition is entirely at fault.† Again, Martin Gay of Boston

* Their occupants were the chief pillars, doubtless, of the then recent church, which some, probably with the instinctive eye of taste, without the aid of fashion, were early prompted to admire, and which has continued for a century nearly to be the pride of the region around. Prefixed to the Dedication Sermon of Christ Church, Oct. 1761, by East Aporp, we find the list of the building committee. Their names — it would be a wrong to these pioneers of a true architecture to let them die — are David Phips, John Vassal, Thomas Oliver, Richard Lechmere, Ralph Inman, Henry Vassal. Four of these died in a foreign land. The last might have been safely counted as a *fifth*, if death had not spared him, coming as it did in 1769, the pain of witnessing rebellion. The last but one was the possessor of the well-known Inman place, within the limits of Cambridgeport, which, till since the present century began, was a solitary house. He was, doubtless, in politics with the others, as his son George (Harv. Coll. 1772) died a captain in the British service at Barbadoes, W. I., in 1789.

† We have never been able, with all our pains, clearly to make out

(son of the old patriarch of Hingham, and father of Samuel Gay, Esq., who died at Fort Cumberland, N. B., the last winter) was "an absentee," and his house in Union street was doomed. But his wife, whom he *providentially* left behind, fertile in expedients, by a device too minute to be clearly described, and too extended for our space, outwitted the spoilers, and the husband regained his own. All these go to show that which at the outset we laid down, — to wit, that between "the cup and the lip" much might happen; nor was it easy at once to decide what was that ultimate source of evidence beyond which lay no appeal.

Before parting with this subject of confiscation, it may be as well to add, that all accounts seem to agree, that the fruits of the forfeited property were any thing but gratifying; unless, indeed, it were to the losers, to whom it might thus administer some poor solace. The sales, though, to judge from the Boston papers, deferred for the most part to near the close of the war, — in some cases, perhaps, to a still later date, — were even then precipitate and too early. The impoverished condition of the country was the fatal obstacle in the way of the costliest estates within its borders being worthily disposed of. As we once heard it stated by an aged friend whose college course was nearly completed when peace returned, "the proceeds were hardly enough to satisfy the dues of the auctioneer." Curwen appears to cast all the reproach and guilt at the door of the commissioners; and, writing from Salem almost directly after reaching the shore, in 1785, says, that owing to "the knavery of these rapacious harpies, not two pence in the pound had accrued to the treasury." But they were not enriched, at least, upon his ruin. Curwen, from all that we can gather, "came to his own" again; and his indignation, therefore, as being unselfish, will to some appear singular. The residences in question, in some cases, well

whether Colonel Royall's seat (the well-known Tidd place) at Medford was finally wrested from him. On a public occasion, within the last five years, when the colonel and his bounty were the subjects of notice by a speaker who would be commonly esteemed not likely to err, the contrary was implied; at least, to our apprehension. Yet a letter in the Historical Society's cabinet (still in manuscript) from the exile in London to Edmund Quincy the elder, written near the close of the war, presents surely a discrepancy. Its tone is lugubrious, as denoting that he had been a sufferer; while his apology for being found abroad after the drama opened, and for his long-delayed return, is very unsatisfactory. After all, since Colonel Royall never returned, and his two only sons-in-law (sons he had none) were refugees, one is naturally led to ask, who was his successor in the estate?

met the exigencies of the public service, when, indeed, better might not have been readily found. During the brief time of Washington's head-quarters at Cambridge, the Vassal seat was well devoted in having so stately a master ; whose audience-chamber and bed-chamber some persons undertake even now to specify. John Borland's castle-like mansion, during the autumn and winter following the capitulation of Saratoga, was consigned to the captive generals, Burgoyne and Phillips, with their suites.

To return to the other Act, — the proscribing, — and add a few words to our unfinished notice. That of the Massachusetts Assembly, as already said, was strangely defective. We are puzzled to find a solution for the absence of such names as Colonel Frye of Salem, "Master" John Lovell of Boston, Edward Winslow of Plymouth, the father, Thomas Bernard (son of the governor, and afterwards a baronet), Upham of Brookfield, and as many more, certainly, who readily come to our pen, — for the position of no one of these surely could be called at all equivocal. Curwen, in a letter from London, just after receiving the Act (that is, in 1778), for which he and his brethren were doubtless looking with no little anxiety, expresses his wonder to find in it but four Salem names, whereas there were no less than thirteen exiles. Though feeling ourselves, if we anywhere might, at home in such a survey, we are hard pushed to make out this series. One is inclined to smile at Curwen's seeming disappointment at the omission of his own name ; for he says, naturally enough, that by including it a stronger passport would have been secured to the favor of his protectors. As Mr. Sabine's researches have led him to ascertain and note the number of the subjects of proscription by the decree of various Provincial assemblies, the comparison, in this respect, of States is not without interest. Massachusetts, which has the longest list, counts three hundred and eight, whom it dooms, if ever found within its borders, to imprisonment and eventual banishment, and for the offence of a second return, to capital punishment. Perhaps one fifth of the whole number are from the middle, sometimes even from still humbler, classes of society ; for loyalty was not limited, though it is common thus to believe, within patrician ranks. New Hampshire banishes from her limits seventy-six, and declares twenty-eight estates forfeited. The effects of fifty-nine were confiscated in New

York ; but other Acts imply that the enemies of the cause much exceeded this number. Pennsylvania calls upon sixty-two persons to surrender themselves for trial for treason, who, failing to do so, are pronounced attainted ; thirty-six estates were confiscated by an Act of later date. The like decree in Delaware embraced forty-six estates, and in North Carolina, sixty-five. Under different shades of attachment to the royal interest, two hundred and fifteen persons in South Carolina were amerced twelve per cent. of the value of their estates, deprived of them wholly, or banished. A large class of these were " addressers " of Sir Henry Clinton after the surrender to him of Charleston by General Lincoln ; some part of whom were even petitioners to be armed and employed on the royal side. The Acts of Maryland, New Jersey, Virginia, and Georgia on the same subject do not enable us to exhibit any statistics.

In our own State, it is truly curious to notice how the *esprit de corps*, or some other bond, has knit together in political fellowship nearly all the members of the same profession, within certain local limits, though the remark may not be true elsewhere. The Worcester bar, almost to a man, are registered by their biographer as more or less decidedly with the mother country.* The ascendancy which James Putnam the elder maintained might partly explain this, — the Gamaliel to whose feet the young aspirants of the law resorted ; John Adams among them, though somewhat too early to feel that influence, the parties which prepared the way for the Revolution having hardly yet arisen. But Putnam was the senior and probably the master-mind to Willard of Lancaster, Upham, Rufus Chandler, Jonathan Stearns, and others ; while the noted Ruggles, who was in turn *his* senior, shared in full measure that influence with him. John Sprague of Lancaster stood nearly alone in his Whiggism. Then the physicians of Boston and vicinity — all the oracles at least — were about of one mind on the question of the day, — Lloyd, Danforth, Rand, Spring, Jeffries, and Kneeland, of whom one at least served as surgeon to the British wounded on the day of Bunker's Hill battle. Even the venerable Dr. Holyoke was deemed unfriendly to the Revolutionary movement. If there was any exception to this list, it was probably to be found in Drs. Bulfinch and

* Willard's Historical Address to the Bar of Worcester.

Aspinwall (of Brookline). The Congregational ministers of New England are sometimes hastily eulogized as being, "with very few exceptions," sound patriots when the crisis of their country came. But probably a third of the pulpits in western Massachusetts, and certainly those most to be coveted, were occupied by men of another stamp. Most of these, to be sure, were cautious and shrinking, whose dissent from the faith of the many was inferred from declining some request to preach a fast-sermon on the dark prospects of the country, or, again, from preaching upon some sarcastic or warning text,* whose sinister aim all saw or thought they could see, or lastly (after the method pursued in theology by a later generation of preachers), from their very silence on "the great doctrines," not of the Reformation, but the Revolution; while some few were decided enough to show themselves beyond either mere innuendoes or negatives. To the one class or the other belong Dana of Groton, Rogers of Littleton, Willard Hall of Westford, Fuller of Princeton, Lee of Royalston, Hill of Shutesbury, Hedge of Warwick, Morse of Boylston, Harrington of Lancaster, Whitney of Petersham, Ashley of Deerfield, and — to carry our glance a little beyond the State line — Livermore of Wilton. We enumerate all these names the rather, because Mr. Sabine seems unacquainted with any of them, saving Dana, Rogers, and Ashley. To speak of his omissions before we have done is our purpose; but it seems more convenient to anticipate this portion now. There were, in fine, more Loyalist ministers of this order within the limits we have now travelled over than in all the rest of the State twice told.

Mr. Sabine's attention has been drawn — as no one's, indeed, could fail to be, so long engaged with the subject — to the numerous instances in which the Revolution sundered the closest and strongest ties. It is indeed a curious and mournful catalogue, which we should be glad to extract here

* Dr. Gay of Hingham (overlooked by Mr. Sabine), after the successes of Trenton and Princeton, when the hope of the patriots revived afresh from the deepest dejection, and waxed confident, took for his text, — "Let not the rebellious exalt themselves"; while Fuller of Princeton, when his parishioners resolved to send forth a volunteer company raised in their vicinity with solemn forms of benediction, and he must needs officiate, kindled their ire, while he relieved his own conscience, by fixing upon the ominous words for his theme, — "Let not him that girdeth on the armour boast himself as he that putteth it off." Whitney of Petersham gave offence from the first of the causes mentioned above.

in full, if the space could be spared. But scarcely less curious or noticeable is the continual interlinking of Loyalist families together, here by blood and there by marriage; so that to know the direction which one influential mind has taken quite assures you as to the path of the rest. We give an example or two. John Vassal and Thomas Oliver (the last lieutenant-governor of the name), who lived, indeed, not a mile apart, were brothers-in-law by a double alliance. So was it with the elder sons and namesakes of Hutchinson and Judge (Peter) Oliver. John Borland married Anne, a sister of the three or four elder Vassals. One of these (Colonel Henry Vassal) married the sister of Colonel Royall; his only daughter and child was the wife of Dr. Charles Russell, of the great Charlestown family, while Colonel Royall found sons-in-law in the Ervings and the Sparhawks. The Brownes of Salem were entwined with the Wantons of Newport; the Wentworths with the Atkinsons, both of Portsmouth; the Waldos of Portland with Mr. Secretary Flucker, and also with the Winslows of Boston. The three leading Loyalist families of Worcester, the Chandlers, Putnams, and Paines, were all joined by a common link, and the same link united Colonel Murray of Rutland to the first of the three. But we must cut this enumeration short.

The longevity of this ill-starred class of men has often been a subject of remark, from which it might be thought their rough and romantic adventures had not very seriously affected either their spirits or their health. The consciousness of high-souled fidelity to principle, sometimes say their eulogists, secured to them a serene and prolonged old age. And this, on the other side, has been met by the witty retort, that the "seeing many days" was a judgment upon them, that they might be filled with a larger vision of the growth and prosperity of the land they had forsaken. This length of life it has fallen within the range of our inquiries to note, especially among those who have been educated at our Alma Mater. "The last survivor of his class" has very commonly chanced to be from among these men; and from the opening of the present century, some one of them has, in most of the successive triennial catalogues, held the distinction of "the oldest living graduate."* And yet from a

* These Nestors of their company pass readily in review before us; as, for example (without specifying the octogenarians of lesser age), Governor John Wentworth 83, William Vassal and Richard Clarke 85, Curwen and

passage in Curwen's Journal, near the close of the war (p. 368), and also from a list of names to be found, under the date of November, 1783, in our two ancient prints, the Salem Gazette and Massachusetts Spy, it was evidently then the belief that death had been busy in the ranks of the absentees.

The opportunity is not given us of testing our author's statistics as to the whole number of Loyalists who left the country during the contest, or on the withdrawal of the royal forces. Probably that was scarcely a smaller body which, mainly sympathizing with them, remained behind. But their loyalty was rather presumptive than positive; and as their overt acts were not so offensive that they need through the contest betake themselves to British protection, either at Boston first, or New York afterwards, there was nothing to enforce their departure at the last. We cannot, therefore, question with good warrant his statements, though there is a part of them somewhat startling. He says elsewhere,* that "of refugee Americans it is estimated that upward of twenty thousand arrived in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick before the close of October, 1783, and that before the beginning of the next year ten thousand had found their way to Canada." This may possibly be true; but that the number of Loyalists who took the field may be set down as "twenty thousand at the lowest computation," as estimated in the present work, utterly staggers our belief. Although the great majority of this large body — so we take for granted — are to be set down to the account of the Southern States, with which portion of country we pretend to have less acquaintance, the ratio it would bear to the whole effective force of his Majesty, at any and all periods within the command of Howe, Burgoyne, Clinton, and Cornwallis, appears most disproportioned. At the same time, we are at a loss what to say to the imposing show which the author presents in a note, of some military battalions, not to be readily counted, made up exclusively of native Americans. Mr. Sparks, in a note to his Washington, speaks of eleven hundred as being

George Jaffrey 86, "Brigadier" Ruggles, Mr. Sheriff Phips, and Dr. Danforth 87, John Erving and Daniel Leonard 89, Mr. Sheriff Greenleaf 92, Joseph Waldo 94, Colonel Frye 97, the long list being crowned by the centenarian, Judge Blowers.

* In an article in a contemporary journal (Review of Colonel Simcoe's History of the Operations of the Queen's Rangers, etc., in North American Review for October, 1844), well understood to have been by the author of this work.

about the number who embarked with the squadron on the evacuation of Boston. This, of course, includes many who found refuge there from the country after the battle of Lexington. Still, but few, if any, of these could have been ministers ; yet in the classification of these emigrants by profession, the clerical has eighteen affixed to it. We are at a loss where to find so many, especially as, of the three or four Episcopalians of Boston, Mr. Parker of Trinity remained firm at his post, as also did McGilchrist of Salem, and Bass of Newburyport. Dr. Byles, who alone of the Congregationalists passed for a Tory, doggedly stood it through, content to be annoyed or to be confined, as the case might be, and feeling that in his quiver of puns and jests he had abundant revenge.

The Loyalists, who were such a thorn in the sides of their adversaries, there is reason to suspect were no little trouble and incumbrance to their friends. While in England, their annuities seem to have been reluctantly yielded by the crown ; though the latter was prone to suspect, perhaps often not without reason, that it was imposed upon by an excessive show of losses and sacrifices. Curwen's account of the periodical renewal of these grants in 1782 (p. 367), not only shows the solicitude with which the end of their suspense was waited for by the beneficiaries, but also the frequent changes they underwent from year to year ; seldom for the better, and commonly for the worse. " Mr. Williams [doubtless Seth Williams of Taunton] has married a West Indian lady with a fortune, and he is therefore stricken off." When the treaty of peace was in progress, the awkward and forlorn position of the Loyalists could not be kept out of view. One party to the treaty rather ungratefully pushed the claim, whose unsoundness was evident to the plain common-sense of the other ; which was nothing less, as Franklin described it, than that they should be received and provided for " by their enemies, instead of by their friends." From more than one of his letters it is plain how much and how long the negotiation was embarrassed by this vexed question.

Mr. Sabine contends, — and we have here no dispute with him, — that the true policy of this country would have suggested an utter oblivion of the past. But whatever were the terms of the treaty (and it is not strange that in a formal state paper the new republicans were tenacious of having

mutual rights and claims put upon their true grounds), has not the principle he favors been that of actual practice? If so many emigrated to the Provinces, we must conclude that it was their own choice, and that the wild lands offered them on such easy terms were tempting enough to recommend in their eyes a strange soil. Much stranger it could not well appear than, after the lapse of some eight years, must have appeared that which they had forsaken. Certain it is, that very many of the absentees, instinctively yearning for their native land, returned to it as their last rest, though doubtless these made but a small proportion of the whole. Those only who were in too keen haste to do so with the earliest signals of peace were taught by nameless indignities and harassings that it could not be done with impunity; but this was all the penalty. Such was the reception of Elijah Williams of Deerfield and Keene, and some others, it may be; but Curwen tells us, that on his landing at Salem, even in 1785, he returned to his own door without seeing any one who met him with coldness or repulse. Men there were, doubtless, whose faces could not, indeed, after any interval, longer or shorter, be shown again to their countrymen. The lapse of time, however, would, in behalf of the many, exert its natural influence. The painful memory of the past becomes fainter; reviving prosperity dulls the edge of popular resentment; and penal laws, though unrepealed, become a dead letter in effect. As to what must be considered, after all, in this region, the *élite*, for the most part, of the Loyalist body, we have the means of giving, with tolerable accuracy, the relative numbers, according to the degree of their decision and distinct stand, or as they came forth more or less in bold relief to the rest of the public. Whether this may be taken as a fair specimen of the party in general, or will serve for other sections of the land, we cannot say. But of a hundred and seventy-nine graduates of Harvard to whom that name may be thought fairly to belong, more than fifty remained "in their lot," from which they wished not to be driven, and passive in their loyalty; twenty-six were temporary "absentees"; perhaps five died in America under British protection before the Peace (whose future course, therefore, had they lived, could not be foreseen), and ninety-four wholly expatriated themselves. Obviously, equal certainty cannot attach to every one of these names in their several connections.

We have left ourselves no space to speak of Mr. Sabine's individual sketches, much as we desire it ; but must somehow make room to specify several omissions, as well as real or supposed errors of an opposite kind. We premise, as a clew to guide us to the individuals, that, in the history of their minds, they are all Harvardians. This remark applies to the omissions alone.

Samson Stoddard of Chelmsford (1730) was quite obnoxious in that place, as Allen informs us (*History of Chelmsford*), so that we have been led thus to number, not only him, but his sons Samson and Vryling (1763, 1765). Timothy Prout (1741), merchant, of Boston, died at New York under British protection, in the midst of the war. Thomas Steel (1730), also of Boston, who retired from the same profession to Leicester, and died early in the contest, was the only Loyalist of that place. (See Washburn's *History*.) Mr. Sabine omits Dr. Kneeland (1751), the respectable physician of Cambridge, and steward of the college, but who was at length thrown out from that office by the Overseers, after being elected by the Corporation (see Quincy's *History*) ; and John Wadsworth (1762), a tutor of singular popularity, but who, with his free speech, had wellnigh lost his chair, retaining it but by a single vote in the Board (*Eliot's Biog. Dict.*, Art. Rogers, *note* ; and Dr. Freeman's *Sermon on George R. Minot, Esq.*). Andrew Oliver (1749), the eldest son of the lieutenant-governor so named, and the well-known essayist on comets, was doubtless of the same political stamp with all his family, though, owing to his retiring and philosophical turn of mind, which averted odium, he alone rests in his native soil. The late aged physician of Salem, and the lamented and accomplished professor, formerly of Dartmouth College, were his descendants. William Mayhew (1767), of Martha's Vineyard, had been for two or three years sheriff of Dukes county, when, in 1775, his name appears for the last time ; nor can we doubt the reason, especially as his death some years after occurred at Hudson, on the North river, N. Y., — as it would seem, a place of seclusion. John Stevens (1766) of Charlestown, a near connection of the Gorham family, but, withal, a straightforward and, possibly, eccentric man, became so obnoxious at home as to retreat to Concord, N. H., where he found himself no less so, and was, in a kind of alienation from society, buried in

a private lot of his own. To the same list belongs Samuel Cutler (1765), of Brookfield by origin, but early in life a trader at Edenton, N. C., though he eventually died at Bellows Falls, Vt., nearly thirty years ago. Why does Mr. Sabine pass by Nathaniel Sparhawk (a classmate of Cutler), early a merchant in Salem, who, undoubtedly, as well as his father, Colonel Sparhawk of Kittery-point, must be counted of the same party with his younger brothers, William Pepperell (who succeeded to his grandfather's baronetcy) and Samuel Hirst. That the elder brother was abroad much or most of the war is a clear matter of fact. George Eveleigh (1742), of South Carolina, comes before us once and again in Curwen's Diary; he speaks of him as a fellow-collegian, and may we not safely infer, a fellow-exile? Hon. James Sheafe (1774) of Portsmouth, N. H., then fresh from college, is said to have entered with youthful ardor into the royal cause; probably enough, through his connection by marriage with the Meserves. Whether this lasted through the war, we have no means of knowing; it continued long enough, at any rate, to become a part of his personal history, since there were those who in his subsequent political life never forgot to "keep it before the people." Mr. Sabine seldom loses sight of Episcopal ministers; yet Edward Winslow (1741), son of Joshua Winslow, a tea-consignee, was forced to leave the Quincy church (see Rev. B. C. Cutler's Historical Discourse), and died at New York before the Peace; and Joseph Domett (1762), also of Boston, for a short time over the Episcopal society at Marshfield, we believe, is supposed to have died at last in England or Ireland. Toryism seems, judging from the proscribing act, to have strangely flourished at Marshfield, — not a large place, surely; whether through the influence alone of such a man as "Nat" Ray Thomas, cannot now be decided. Levi Willard (1775), nephew of the brothers Abel and Abijah, returned from England in 1785, where he is thought to have sojourned most of the intervening time; at any rate, in Lancaster, his native place and final residence, the nature of his political attachments appears not to have been doubted. We regard as refugees, though their names are wanting here, Michael Joy (1771), of Boston, to whom, in some degree, is related the present family of that name in this city; Benjamin Loring (1772), the youngest son of the commodore; and Francis Brinley (1775), who was the nephew of Thomas Brinley of the

class of 1744, and confessedly within that category. Of the younger person of the last name we can indeed learn nothing whatever, and for that very reason infer, that, leaving college walls, as he did, while the tocsin was sounding, he forthwith left the country too, no more to return. We count also as such, with confidence, Joseph Dowse (1766), son of the surveyor and searcher of the ports of Salem and Marblehead, and who, as stated by Winthrop, was "a surgeon in the British army in the West Indies." Is there not, it may be queried, some probable reason, likewise, for so including William Checkley (1756), son of the minister of the New South Church, and who was an officer in the custom-house at Providence? But we are most surprised by Mr. Sabine's failure to record the names of some whose bones rest under the northern sky of our continent; as John Barnard (1762), a merchant at St. John's, New Brunswick, and brother of the late Rev. Dr. Barnard of Salem; John Thomas (1765), of Plymouth, one of the seven founders of the Old Colony Club (Thacher's Plymouth), and who died at Liverpool, Nova Scotia, in 1823; Jesse Rice (1772), a native of Marlboro', and who became, it is said on some authority, a physician in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. We have ourselves very lately detected in Nathaniel Thomas (1774) a son of N. R. Thomas of Marshfield (spoken of on the last page), who followed his father to the Provinces. Mr. Sabine has made some confusion, we see, with the Isaac Winslows, of whom, we believe, he has three. The graduate of 1762 was not, as he imagines, the son of General John Winslow, and the physician who settled in Marshfield (who was not liberally educated); but a merchant in Boston, whose death was far earlier in date. Finally, we marvel that he so circumscribes the Vassal name. The elder William (1733) had a son of his own name (1771), to whom a place should have been given; while Lewis Vassal (1760), nephew and cousin respectively of the two, must have crossed the water, though no documents that illustrate the party even mention his name. His whole career is impenetrably dark, baffling, while it goads, curiosity, and we feel inclined to offer a reward to any one that can unearth him.

We had a few things more to say as to Mr. Sabine's opposite error, but are warned with every line we add how much we have trespassed already on our allowed limits. Yet we must hint that his discrimination surely failed him when he admitted into his pages some names, for whose

company high-souled and chivalrous spirits (such as were so many of those whom he has enrolled) will hardly feel obliged to him. Surely Benedict Arnold, Benjamin Church, and Silas Deane have no business here. That Deane's diplomatic life went down in a cloud, we indeed supposed; but, though we have never had a very exact idea of his case, have nowhere seen it branded in the manner the author would convey. As to the other two, we should never think of deeming Loyalist and traitor as interchangeable terms. Then, again, why does the author press into his service several names of such as ceased to have part or lot in what is done under the sun, years before it was enforced upon one to make the final decision. There may have been, indeed, a fair presumption what their course would have been, had opportunity been given. But this might have been affirmed of Colonel William Bourne of Marblehead, the two sons of Judge Oliver (Daniel and Andrew), who died "before their day," Henry Vassal, perhaps Judge Foxcroft of Cambridge, equally as of the younger Atkinson of Portsmouth, Rev. Dr. Miller of Quincy, Major Samuel Waldo of Portland, Hon. Chambers Russell, and Dr Barclay of Trinity Church, New York. Mr. Sabine introduces these last, as he does, too, Jeremy Gridley, at one period attorney-general. Why not, also, then, Benjamin Pratt, first of Boston, and finally chief-justice of New York, and whose condemnation it was to be the son-in-law of Robert Auchmuty? But when we think how numerous is the class whose names he records, scattered, too, over the length and breadth of the land, in too many cases brought into day from nooks and corners, it is, perhaps, more to his praise that he has kept his exact limits so well, — no oftener unjust to those without or within the circle. We respond, too, to his spirit, vindicating (as is, we believe, his desire) honored names from pitiable epithets and vulgar opprobrium; and are well pleased, at the lapse of two thirds of a century from the Revolution, to have so full and, generally, so faithful a dictionary of those whose impress upon it must be obvious to all.

But we must shake off the sway of a too attractive subject, and forbear. Had not Mr. Sabine, with another opportunity, better give to his long historical essay — what it so much needs — either a table of contents, a running-title, or a final index?

J. P. D.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels. By ANDREWS NORTON. Vol. I. Second Edition. Cambridge: J. Owen. 1846. 8vo. pp. 261 and cclxxvii.

Additions made in the Second Edition of the First Volume of Norton's Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels. Cambridge: J. Owen. 1846. 8vo. pp. 52.

THAT a second edition of Mr. Norton's first volume on the "Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels" has become necessary, within a period of ten years from the date of the original publication, affords gratifying proof, that, amid the general neglect into which critical theology has fallen, or is falling, among us, there is yet felt some lingering respect for works of thorough erudition and ripe scholarship. For the convenience of those who possess the first edition, all the important additions made in the second are here given in a pamphlet, in type corresponding to that of the volume, and with a notice of the places to which they belong. The additions are not all of equal importance; but no one who has the first edition would like to be without them, or would willingly spare the least fragment of what Mr. Norton may write on the subjects to which they relate. We would have his latest thoughts upon them. In the "Note on Eichhorn and other German Theologians," statements which stood apart in the original edition are brought together, and connected with some additional remarks. Some brief criticisms are offered on De Wette and Strauss. The weak parts in the argument of the latter are referred to, though no minute and elaborate refutation is attempted. This Mr. Norton does not consider necessary. His estimate of both Strauss and De Wette, together with Eichhorn, may be learned from the following assertion:—"The books I have quoted will not be read after the present generation has passed away; and the opinions I have observed upon will soon cease to attract notice, except from the student of the history of theology." Besides the note already mentioned, and some others,—one on "Epiphanius's Account of the Gospel used by the Ebionites," and three on particular passages in the New Testament,—an additional chapter is given, containing "Concluding Remarks on the Direct Historical Evidence of the Genuineness of the Gospels." The historical argument is here clearly and succinctly stated, after which some modern objections are noticed, particularly those of Strauss already referred to. The denial of the possibility of miracles, with which Strauss starts, Mr. Norton ar-

gues is equivalent to the denial of a Deity, that is, in any proper sense of the term, and therefore amounts to atheism, and thus involves the destruction of all religion. "But the fact has been overlooked," he says, "that, supposing the proposition to be admitted, that a miraculous intervention of the Deity is impossible, it would have no bearing on our present subject. No inference could be drawn from it to show that the Gospels were not written by those to whom they are ascribed." This is an acute and discriminating remark, for the illustration of which we must refer the reader to the work itself.

A new edition of the second and third volumes is in press. We learn from the author that the additions made in it will probably not exceed ten or twelve pages in the two volumes, and will be printed separately, for the use of the owners of the first edition. He has not found it necessary to make any other alterations of any considerable importance. We do not see, therefore, that the value of the copies of the first edition will suffer any essential depreciation. As to the first volume, we are inclined to think that its *bibliographical* value will be enhanced, since it contains some fifty pages of matter which has not been, and probably will not be, reprinted, and all the important additions are given, as we have said, and may be procured separately. The publication of such a work, in this country, can, of course, be attended with no pecuniary benefit to the author. Its sale, however, should, in all reason, secure him against loss. We conclude with expressing our deep sense of the value of Mr. Norton's historical and critical labors, and the hope that health and strength may be granted him to complete the remaining works on which he has bestowed so much thought, and which no one is so well qualified to execute, — works impatiently expected from his pen.

L.

Defence of the Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius against Professor Stuart's Translation. By the ORIGINAL TRANSLATOR. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1847. 8vo. pp. 54.

IN a notice of Professor Stuart's Translation of Gesenius's Grammar, in our number for January last, we mentioned that we had detected in it mistakes, and evidence of great haste and carelessness. We had not a copy of the original German before us. But in this pamphlet by Professor Conant, the first translator of Gesenius's Grammar, instances of mistranslation on the part of Professor Stuart, by which the sense of the original is perverted or obscured, are adduced in such number and variety as to convince every scholar who will attend to the subject, that singular

injustice has been done by the Andover Professor both to Gesenius and to Rödiger. We feel bound, in justice, to take back even the measured commendation which, after a superficial examination, we bestowed upon his translation, when we said, in the notice above mentioned, that it was in the main a good one. We now feel bound to say, that it never ought to be used as a representation of the grammar of Gesenius. Its errors are absolutely astounding, both for their number and their character. We therefore recommend that all, who have occasion to use a Hebrew Grammar, will call for Conant's Translation of Gesenius, which, though susceptible of some improvement, is immeasurably superior to that of Mr. Stuart.

We have made the preceding remarks with unfeigned regret. We are afraid that the effect of Professor Conant's pamphlet will be to lower the public estimation of Professor Stuart's previous labors, and of his general scholarship, beyond what is just and reasonable. It should be remembered that many of the errors detected by Professor Conant were the consequence of unaccountable haste and carelessness in the translator; and that, though errors of a similar kind appear in all his writings, yet much, also, that is valuable and useful is found in them all. It is in consequence of the impulse which he has imparted to sacred, especially to Hebrew, literature in this country, that the younger race of scholars are able to detect his errors. N.

The Agamemnon of Æschylus, with English Notes. By C. C. FELTON, A. M., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in the University at Cambridge. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 189.

THIS edition of one of the most splendid of the Greek tragedies has just been issued by Professor Felton, who designs it for a text-book in our colleges. The text, which, as is well known, has always presented peculiar difficulties to commentators, appears here in an excellent form. The purpose of the work forbade the editor's swelling its size by undue quotations or commentaries, and he has consequently been compelled to exclude some ingenious emendations of difficult passages which have been suggested but not yet fully approved. From the same cause he has been led occasionally to render very involved and obscure passages in a somewhat inelegant manner, sacrificing grace of expression to the literal fidelity which is essential in a work intended for young students. These are the chief defects of the book, if they can properly be regarded as defects; and, taking into

account the peculiar difficulties of the work and the restraints imposed upon him by his immediate object, Professor Felton's edition of this play cannot but be considered as in a high degree creditable to himself, and likely to be widely and permanently useful.

Entertaining this opinion, we have been surprised and grieved to see in so respectable a magazine as the New York Knickerbocker a notice of this work, which, to our mind, is sadly wanting in fairness and courtesy, as well as in accuracy. Besides the ungentlemanly feelings which he has displayed towards Mr. Felton personally, the writer has made what should have been a manly and dignified notice of a production claiming at least the rank of respectability a vehicle for the most unworthy local prejudices. So marked, indeed, is the tone of illiberality and flippancy which pervades the review, that we are persuaded it must furnish to every calm and considerate person the strongest internal evidence of its injustice; and we should not have felt called upon to notice it in any way, were it not that the wide circulation and honorable character of the magazine in which it appears may give it a currency to which it is not of itself entitled.

Our limits will not permit us to furnish at length all the reasons upon which we found our opinion of the article, but a careful and (so far as time has allowed) a thorough examination of every point which it contains justifies us, we think, in saying that the reviewer's charges may be divided into four classes, as follows. First, some five or six instances in which Mr. Felton's judgment or taste may be considered as questionable, or in which he is clearly liable to no heavier charge than that of inadvertence. Secondly, assertions of the reviewer of an entirely arbitrary nature, in which he settles doubtful points or corrects statements by an *ex cathedrâ* decision. Thirdly, remarks apparently pointless and unnecessary, the only object of which seems to have been, as certainly their only effect is, to swell the article to an imposing size. And, lastly, a large class of charges of inaccuracy or ignorance made by the reviewer against Mr. Felton, which prove, on examination, to be unsupported and erroneous. Of this last class, as most important to our purpose, we venture to present a few obvious specimens.

v. 231. The reviewer here, after asserting that quantity is of "very small account with the Bostonians," and accusing Professor Felton of ignorance of the quantity of the word *ἄπιος*, exhibits himself a great want of accuracy in respect to that word; for *ἄπιος* does not universally mean "the Peloponnese," but is also used (as by Soph. *Œ. C.* 1678) in the sense of "distant." (We know that Blomfield, *Glos. Ag.* 247, contends for the former meaning in that passage also; but his opinion is not generally re-

ceived.) Moreover, *ἄπιος* is used by later writers in the sense of "the Peloponnese." (*Vide* Liddell and Scott, Buttmann's Lexil.)

535 - 538. *ἀρχαῖον* both Liddell and Peile translate "ancient," as does Felton. Just so, *ἀρχαῖον ὄνειδος*, Pind. O. 6. 89.

713. *Αἶρος* occurs only three times in the Agamemnon. In two of those instances, including the present, it is translated by Wellauer "*laus*." How far, then, it is true, that "the word is not usually employed in a good sense in this play," the reader may judge.

816. A glance at the lexicon will, we think, satisfy the reviewer that the metaphor here is *not* taken from "throwing dice," since *καταβόλπειν* is never found to bear that meaning; the words so used being *ἀναβόλπειν* and *βάλλειν*.

979. On this we would say that *πάρα* plainly stands for *πάρεστι*, — a fact which seems not to have occurred to the reviewer. Comp. Soph. Elect. 285, Æsch. Pers. 167, in both of which cases the word stands, as here, at the end of an iambic line.

1206. *ὑπτίσμα*. Professor Felton's rendering of this word, "prostration," is certainly a possible one, and we must be permitted to think it the best one in this place, the somewhat extraordinary quotation from Horace's Ode to Phylele to the contrary notwithstanding.

1244 - 1247. The calmness with which Klausen, Peile, Schneider, and Felton are pronounced to have mistaken the construction of this passage is really rather astonishing, and somewhat prepares us for the assertion, that *τινείν* is said of those who *pay* the penalty, but not of those who *inflict* it. Cf., to the contrary, Æsch. Theb. 638, Soph. CE. C. 227, Pind. P. 2. 24.

1311 - 1314. Porson's emendation of this passage, so far from being "universally" received, is rejected by Wellauer, Dindorf, and Klausen; the last of whom (pronounced by Peile the first of foreign commentators on Æschylus) reads, with Felton, *νότῳ γάνει*. We prefer Professor Felton's translation of *λοχέυμασιν* as simpler than Linwood's.

We have thus briefly noticed some of the instances in which the heavy accusations of the reviewer recoil upon himself. It is not easy for us to express the regret with which we regard all such indications of the existence of a narrow and ungenerous spirit of rivalry as that contained in the following extract.

"The inhabitants of the American Athens, setting up for universal geniuses, have, among other things, assumed to be the classical instructors of the whole American community; while it is notorious that there is not a man among them who can write three pages upon any subject involving real scholarship without exposing himself egregiously. And not only do they claim to be *the* classics of the country, but the *only* classics, affecting to despise New York scholarship, which is really very

respectable, as far as it goes, and not altogether contemned on the other side of the water; Professor Anthon's books being extensively read and republished in England and Scotland; and all this they profess to do, quite *ἐν παρίγω.*"

It is impossible that the indulgence of such a spirit should be otherwise than injurious to the progress of learning and literature throughout our country. No abundant nor permanent results of intellectual labor can be looked for, until that honorable appreciation of the performances of all true and industrious men shall prevail, which is content and glad to recognize a real advance in the acquisition of truth in whatever quarter, and by whomsoever made.

H—t.

Hymns for Christian Devotion; especially adapted to the Universalist Denomination. By J. G. ADAMS and E. H. CHAPIN. Boston: Abel Tompkins. 1847. 12mo. pp. 642.

THIS compilation, though prepared to aid the worship of a particular sect, is entirely free from sectarianism. The 1008 pieces of which it is composed could hardly fail of including a great deal of excellence, even if they were not selected by two clergymen who are themselves no indifferent poets. We do not know what the character of the hymn-book is of which this takes the place; but we feel sure that the present one must be a great improvement on its predecessor, however creditable that previous performance may have been. We have before us a book, preserved carefully for the sake of old remembrances, that was "designed for the use of the Church Universal"; or, in stricter truth, for the congregation worshipping "in the Meeting-House, corner of Bennet Street, in *Middle Street*, Boston," which took the title of "the Universal Church." It was published in 1802, and could not possibly have been an improvement upon any thing. It is exclusively doctrinal, presenting everywhere the idea of a bloody atonement in its most offensive form; and this fault is fully matched by the extreme badness of the verses. Some faint idea of this latter quality may be gathered from a quotation or two, such as might be multiplied to any extent.

"Long he struggled with confused
— Noise, and garments roll'd in blood;
Till destroying sin, and hell, and
Death, he rescu'd man to God."

"The victory's won, And Satan is down;
We now overcome, His kingdom disown;
The seed of the woman Hath bruised his head,
Hath made us that new man, Which love had decreed."

"Comfort ye my, comfort ye my
— People, saith your God."

It is truly comforting to observe the advancement that less than half a century has produced, both in religious views and poetical taste. The present work we think calculated to find much favor among persons of cultivated minds, in other denominations than that to which the compilers belong. We do not think, however, that it can be considered as an improvement upon all other similar books "already in existence." The Preface implies such an ambition in the attempt, but the claim would be far too high. It contains many admirable hymns, both old and new. But we cannot help finding some fault with it, for a reason that will be its highest recommendation to many persons. Its whole style is too modern. There is too large a proportion of the verses of the day. We are allowed too little of the simplicity, sweetness, and force of the old masters. If we might speak our mind freely, we should say that there was too much sentimentalism in it, too much dallying with the smaller beauties of poetry. Several of the pieces remind us of certain gentlemen, who are called "exquisites" on account of their over-nice manners or over-showy dress. Take, for an example, the 961st or the 586th. We hold that the ornaments of sacred poetry should be peculiar and appropriate to that class of compositions. Its imagery should resemble that of the Scriptures, and not that — however charming in its place — of Thomas Moore. All mere prettinesses should be carefully excluded. We have observed in this collection an unusually large number of what may be called "burden-hymns," where the last line of every verse is in the same words, or nearly the same, or where the first line in each is repeated in like manner. We counted about thirty of these. Though some of them are undoubtedly beautiful, we do not think that this style is most to be approved. On the other hand, we think our friends must have been nodding a little when such platitudes as the 437th found the honor of their "admittatur." We confess that we could well dispense with a considerable number of the pieces that have multiplied here to such an amount. But these can easily be omitted in the reading by those who like them no better than we do. And there will still be left a collection of hymns suitable to be sung by any worshipping assembly whatever; — chaste, fervid, elevating; worthy expressions of the truest and devoutest thoughts.

F.

The Explanatory Bible Atlas and Scripture Gazetteer, Geographical, Topographical, and Historical; containing Maps of all the Countries and Places mentioned in the Old and New Testaments, drawn from the latest and best Authorities, and engraved expressly for the Work, with Illustrative Essays

for each Map, and accurate local Descriptions in the Gazetteer ; a colored Missionary Map of the World ; a Dictionary of the Natural History of the Bible, with Engravings ; Tables of Time, Weights, Measures, and Coins, Tabular Views, etc. By the REV. WILLIAM JENKS, D. D., Editor of the Comprehensive Commentary on the Bible, etc. For the Use of Families, Clergymen, Teachers of Bible Classes, of Sabbath and other Schools, Theological Students, and Biblical Readers generally. Boston : C. Hickling. 1847. 4to. pp. 157.

WE have given this formidable title at length, though we are not quite sure that it will not awaken in the reader expectations which the work itself will fail of completely fulfilling. Yet the volume contains a great deal of information in a condensed form, and drawn from authentic sources, on subjects interesting as well to the general reader as to the Biblical student and teachers of Sunday schools and Bible classes, — information which, as the compiler observes, has been hitherto “scattered through many expensive volumes,” some of which are “found only in costly libraries.” From these the author, who is one of the most indefatigable of students, has extensively and faithfully gleaned. Of course the work cannot be expected to prove a very attractive one ; it is a work to be consulted rather than read, but, properly used, will be found exceedingly useful. It is one the need of which has been often felt, and the merits of which, as they become known, the public will duly appreciate. The volume contains seventeen maps, which, as we are informed, were “drawn expressly for it from the latest and best authorities” ; they are distinct, well engraved, and present a beautiful appearance to the eye. There are also engravings of the principal plants and animals mentioned in Scripture, accompanied with an explanatory index. The Gazetteer adds to the value of the work, though it should have been so prepared as to have precluded the necessity of the “Addenda.” We should have preferred, too, to have seen the long quotations frequently given in the literary portion of the volume credited to the authors. Still, we think well of the work as it is, and, notwithstanding some minute blemishes which the critical eye may detect in it, we heartily commend it to the attention of the public.

L.

The History of Sunday Schools, and of Religious Education, from the Earliest Times. By LEWIS G. PRAY. Boston : Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 12mo. pp. 262.

THIS is an attempt to supply a manifest deficiency in our re-
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ligious literature. The author's desire to avoid making a large book has doubtless led him to study brevity on some points, in regard to which a fuller discussion would have been more satisfactory. There is hardly a chapter that would not offer to a practised author a temptation to book-making. We think Mr. Pray deserves credit, not only for adhering closely to his subject, but also for bringing so many important facts and profitable suggestions within so brief a space. We cordially commend the book to teachers and superintendents, and to all persons interested in the Christian culture of the young. The last chapter especially, on the arrangement and instruction of a Sunday school, deserves and will well repay an attentive study. It exhibits the result of long and successful experience in Sunday-school teaching, the ripened fruit of more than twenty years' faithful labor. It is distinguished by great sobriety; Mr. Pray's feelings do not mislead his judgment. He takes a practical view of his subject. His expectations are chastened by extensive and intimate knowledge of the difficulties that beset the path of even the most earnest and diligent laborer. Hence his book may be used profitably. Its principles and methods are immediately applicable to the existing conditions of Sunday schools, and are calculated to elevate and improve it. Nor need we add, for the information of those acquainted with the author, that his work is characterized by a devout spirit, and by an earnest solicitude for the moral and religious prosperity of the rising generation.

M.

Progressive Lessons for Sunday Schools. Printed for the Use of the Sunday School of the Unitarian Society, Buffalo, New York. Buffalo: O. G. Steele. 1847. pp. 48. 18mo.

THIS little book contains five different parts, from the very juvenile exercises of the Portsmouth "First Book for Sunday Schools," up to doctrinal questions, with Scripture references, upon God, Christ, regeneration, judgment, etc. Each part closes with an appropriate selection of hymns, and, all together, costs no more than a common catechism alone. The second part consists of the catechism prepared by Dr. Channing and Mr. Thacher; the third part contains brief questions upon Christianity; the fourth part is made up of studies in Old Testament history; and the closing portion gives sixteen doctrinal subjects to be inquired into in designated passages of the Bible. For those who are conducting small Sunday schools, at a distance from Boston, this too-concise manual might be made to take the place of numerous expensive works. An intelligent teacher would be more encouraged to a free interchange of thought with the pupil

by this, than by almost any other text-book, while the more advanced portions would perhaps stimulate a teacher accustomed to a servile dependence on printed questions and answers to a more hearty, living, and profitable communion on such kindling themes.

H—d.

The Words of Christ, from the New Testament. Boston : Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 16mo. pp. 150.

IN this little book an attempt is made to present to the reader, under eight general heads, — viz. "The Messiah," "The Teacher," "The Comforter," "The Sufferer," "The Betrayed," "The Crucified," "The Risen," and "The Redeemer," — all our Saviour's recorded sayings, separate from the accounts that the Evangelists have given of the incidents and circumstances in the midst of which he uttered them. Whatever may be thought of the compiler's method of arrangement, — which to us seems somewhat arbitrary and imperfect, — he has certainly, in the execution of his plan, given proof of skill and fidelity; and though for ourselves we must confess that our Lord's teachings always impress us most deeply when we study them in their original historical connections, yet we doubt not that many will find this volume a very useful manual.

B.

Scripture Proofs and Scriptural Illustrations of Unitarianism. By JOHN WILSON. Published by the Unitarian Association of the State of New York. 1847. 12mo. pp. 183.

WE are pleased to see this reprint of the first part of Mr. Wilson's "Scripture Proofs and Scriptural Illustrations of Unitarianism," by the Unitarian Association of the State of New York. "The present volume," it is stated in the Preface to the American edition, "is an experiment upon the interest of the public mind in the subject. It will speedily be followed by others, if it shall obtain a general or considerable circulation." The project is a good one, and we hope it will succeed. There is much need of a more extensive circulation of works of this kind among us, more especially as what is called doctrinal preaching has of late years become rather unfashionable in the Unitarian churches.

We hope the perusal of this "tractate" will induce many persons to purchase the whole volume of which, in the English edition, it forms a part, and copies of which are for sale in this country.

L.

The Library of American Biography. Conducted by JARED SPARKS. Second Series, Vol. XIII. Boston: Little & Brown. 1847. 16mo. pp. 434.

THIS volume contains two lives. The first is that of the celebrated Daniel Boone, the "Pioneer of Kentucky," who has been made a sort of hero of romance, and about whom many fabulous anecdotes have obtained currency. The present life, by John M. Peck, we have reason to believe authentic, and we commend it to the attention of those who may wish to know who the real Daniel Boone was, how he lived, and what he performed. The other life is that of Benjamin Lincoln, major-general in the army of the Revolution, by Francis Bowen, who is accustomed to do well whatever he does, and who in the present case has, without overlooking other sources of information, drawn his materials principally from the letters and private papers of General Lincoln himself, which, he informs us, "have been preserved in a state of great completeness, and which throw much light on some of the most interesting passages in the history of the American Revolution." Little use has heretofore been made of these documents.

L.

Morning and Evening Meditations, for every Day in a Month. Boston: Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols. 1847. 16mo. pp. 294.

WE noticed the original English edition of this work in our number for November, 1845, and then expressed a hope that it would be republished in this country. We now notice its appearance from an American press, merely to call the attention of our readers to a book which they will find profitable in quickening or enriching their religious sentiments.

G.

A System of Moral Philosophy, adapted to Children and Families, and especially to Common Schools. By REV. D. STEELE and A FRIEND. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 80.

WITHOUT stopping to comment on the title of this publication, which is a little too high-sounding to please our taste, we very cheerfully recommend it as containing many just views of the moral laws of our being, well illustrated, and expressed in language adapted to the capacity of children, without being childish.

L.

- A Sermon of the Dangerous Classes in Society, preached at the Melodeon, on Sunday, January 31.* By THEODORE PARKER, Minister of the XXVIII. Congregational Church in Boston. Boston : C. & J. M. Spear. 1847. 8vo. pp. 48.
- Services at the Ordination of Rev. O. B. Frothingham, March, 10, 1847.* Salem. 1847. 8vo. pp. 30.
- Brookline Jubilee. A Discourse delivered in Brookline, at the Request of its Inhabitants, on 15 March, 1847, the Day which completed Half a Century from his Ordination.* By JOHN PIERCE, D. D., Fifth Minister of the First Congregational Church and Society in said Town. Boston : J. Munroe & Co. 1847. 8vo. pp. 72.
- The Triumphs of War. A Sermon preached on the Day of the Annual Fast, April 15, 1847.* By ANDREW P. PEABODY, Pastor of the South Church, Portsmouth, N. H. Portsmouth : J. W. Foster. 1847. 8vo. pp. 20.
- True Patriotism. A Discourse delivered on Fast Day, in the Second Universalist Church, School Street.* By E. H. CHAPIN. Boston : A. Hawkins. 1847. 8vo. pp. 19.
- The Claims of Congregational Churches. A Centennial Address ; being a Plea in Vindication of the Rights of the First Church in Pepperell, Mass., delivered February 9, 1847.* By CHARLES BABIDGE, Minister of the First Parish. Boston : Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 8vo. pp. 44.
- White Slavery in the Barbary States. A Lecture before the Boston Mercantile Library Association, February 17, 1847.* By CHARLES SUMNER. Boston : W. D. Ticknor & Co. 8vo. pp. 60.
- Letter of Joseph Richardson, Pastor of the First Church in Hingham, to his Parish, on the Subject of Exchanges of Pulpit Services with the Ministers of the other Religious Societies in said Town ; the Reports of a Committee, and the Record of the Votes of the First Parish thereon ; and a Correspondence with four of the other Religious Societies in said Town.* Hingham. 1847. 8vo. pp. 44.
- Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of New England, during the Century between 1740 and 1840.* Boston : James B. Dow. 1847. 12mo. pp. 126.
- An Inquiry into the Original Import and Scripture Use of the Terms Sheol, Hades, Tartaros, and Gehenna ; addressed to Elder David Millard, Professor of Biblical Antiquity, etc., in the Theological School of Meadville, Pa.* By ISAAC C. GOFF, Minister of the N. T. Honesdale, Pa. 1847. 8vo. pp. 20.

God OR Our Country. Review of Rev. Dr. Putnam's Discourse, delivered on Fast Day, entitled, God AND Our Country. Boston. 1847. 8vo. pp. 23.

Resistance to Slavery every Man's Duty. A Report on American Slavery, read to the Worcester Central Association, March 2, 1847. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 8vo. pp. 40.

WHETHER or not some of Mr. Parker's views are a little Utopian, is a question on which different judgments will be pronounced; persons who have less hopefulness in their natures than he apparently possesses may, on reading his discourse, sometimes hesitate and doubt; but there is a Christian and humane spirit running through it with which no one who has right feelings can fail deeply to sympathize. — The services at the ordination of Mr. Frothingham, including the sermon by his father, the right hand of fellowship by Mr. Stone, and the charge by Dr. Putnam, are such as might be expected from their authors. After referring to the difficulties which attend the "office of religious teaching" at the present day, Dr. Frothingham proceeds to speak of what is comprehended in "rightly dividing the word of truth" (the language of his text) according to its nature and the capacity and wants of hearers, and concludes with affectionate allusions to the occasion and the place. — The discourse and addresses delivered at the "Brookline Jubilee" — the latter being given in an appendix — contain much matter of local interest, — reminiscences, facts, dates, — and, what we regard of more value, are memorials of an occasion which presented a beautiful picture of the moral and social influences exerted by a Christian minister who, after the fashion of other days, has remained united with the same people, —

"Nor e'er has changed, nor wished to change his place."

— The rejoicings for our victories in Mexico Mr. Peabody condemns as inconsistent with the principles of a merciful and humane religion; our bells, he thinks, should have tolled, in token of grief, rather than have sent forth the merry peal of triumph; and our "praise" have lost itself in "penitential sorrow" for the savage deeds of war. His sermon is the fresh outpouring of a fervid spirit deeply moved by the tidings, which had just arrived, of the bombardment and capture of Vera Cruz. — Mr. Chapin does not engage in a violent tirade against the present war and its supporters, but calmly, yet with an unflinching independence, examines some of the motives which led to it, and the excuses which are made for prosecuting it, strongly condemning them, and urging the great moral and Christian principles on

which the true patriot should take his stand. The discourse is alike creditable to his ability and manliness. — We do not think that Mr. Babbidge's Address can be justly charged with being, as he apprehends it may seem, either "ill-natured" or "severe." The attempt to rob his church of its rightful name was an offence which, with similar offences in other cases, would be provoking, were it not for their utter futility and absurdity. The Address is an able and thorough vindication of the claims of his church.

Mr. Sumner's Lecture is mostly historical. The origin of slavery is briefly touched upon, as also its character in the Barbary States; but the great merit of the performance consists in the information it contains, collected from various sources, relating to the number of slaves in those States at different periods, the efforts made for their redemption, by peaceful or warlike measures, and the general policy pursued by the European powers, resulting in the final extinction of Christian slavery in Morocco, Tripoli, Tunis, and, lastly, in Algiers. The pamphlet is not one of mere temporary interest, but deserves to be preserved as an historical document. — The proposition contained in Mr. Richardson's letter was a free exchange of pulpit services with the ministers of the other religious societies in the town, — that is, two Unitarian, one Methodist, one Baptist, and one Universalist. His parish assent, and communications are made to the other societies, of which two — that of the second parish, and the Universalist — accept the offer, while the third Congregational Society (that of the Rev. Mr. Stearns) declines, as also the pastor of the Baptist, his people sustaining him in the decision. — The pamphlet entitled "Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of New England," while it gives evidence of some diligence in collecting facts and dates, and contains a show of impartiality, perpetually violates moral truth, and does about the same justice to Unitarianism which the "pages" of Gibbon do to Christianity. — Such pamphlets as that of Mr. Goff, though laying no claim to great learning, cannot fail of scattering abroad some seeds of truth, and we are not the less pleased with them on account of the quarters from which we occasionally receive them. — The reviewer of Dr. Putnam's fast-day sermon not only dissents from much of the language of the discourse, but on portions of it makes some very severe, and, as we think, unwarrantable criticisms. — The "Report on American Slavery," etc., is valuable chiefly, not for any new light it throws on the subject, any new facts it arrays, or arguments it embodies, but as an earnest protest of a respectable body of men against an institution involving moral wrong and fraught with incalculable misery.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ecclesiastical Record. — The resignation of their pulpits by two of the ministers of this city has brought forcibly to our notice a change now going on, which may affect the stability of several of our congregations. With the increasing business of the city, and the growth of the surrounding towns, families are removing from Boston and seeking permanent residences in the country. The demand for buildings devoted to the purposes of trade, and the facility of communication between the city and the country by means of railroads, are thinning the town of its old inhabitants; and lead us to anticipate the time as not very distant when most of those who transact their business here will reside in the neighbouring places. Already the effect on our churches is very perceptible. We were told by a friend the other day, that six families of his congregation had gone into the country this spring, to remain permanently; and another of our societies, we know, has lost fourteen families in the same way within a year. The removal of other persons from the country into the city, it may be thought, will more than supply the deficiency. But such is not the fact, as we learn; at least, it is not so in the Unitarian congregations. Most of those who come into Boston come from places where Trinitarianism is the prevalent or the only form of religious belief, and they bring the opinions, if not the prejudices, in which they have been educated with them, and connect themselves with churches maintaining similar opinions here. The consequence is, not only that our congregations are changeable to an extent that would probably surprise those who are not familiar with the recent history of Boston, but that they suffer, and under present circumstances must continue to suffer, a gradual diminution. The persons to whom we referred as having given notice of an intention to close their ministries here are Rev. Mr. Smith of the New North church, and Rev. Mr. Towne of the Leyden (or Green Street) church; and both offer the same reason for this step, namely, the decrease of ability in their congregations in consequence of the removal of families from Boston. Rev. Mr. Smith's resignation, should it be accepted by his people, will take effect the next spring. — Rev. Mr. Bellows of Framingham has resigned his connection with the church in that place. — Rev. Mr. Tilden has closed his ministry at Concord, N. H. — Rev. Mr. Clapp of New Orleans, we learn from the public journals, has left his society on account of his health, and proposes to visit Europe. — Rev. Mr. Hedge of Bangor has obtained leave of absence from his congregation for a year or more, which he will spend abroad, being now on his way to Europe. — Rev. Mr. Adam, who was at Toronto, is now permanently fixed at Chicago, Ill. — Rev. Mr. May, formerly of Leicester, has accepted the appointment of General Agent of the Massachusetts Antislavery Society, and has entered on the duties of his office. — Rev. Dr. Pierce of Brookline having finished a ministry of fifty years, his people have decided to hear candidates, with a view to the settlement of a colleague.

New York Unitarian Association. — The annual meeting of the New York Unitarian Association was held on Wednesday evening, May 12, 1847. The churches at Buffalo, Trenton, Troy, Brooklyn, and New York were represented by their pastors. The annual sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hosmer of Buffalo. A business meeting was held on Thursday afternoon at the rooms of the Association. According to the constitution, the annual meeting to hear the reports of the Secretary and Treasurer occurs in January, and the meeting during the New York anniversary week is in truth only a social and religious celebration, into which a certain amount of the business of the Association creeps. The question was discussed, whether it would not be better to unite these occasions and have only one public meeting of the Association, in the month of October. The subject was referred to the Directors. A larger, more spirited and useful meeting would doubtless follow upon the proposed change. The objects which the Association proposed to itself for the coming year were, — 1. The wider circulation of its newspaper, by a reduction of the subscription price to one dollar; 2. The support of a missionary (Rev. Mr. Ferris, who is already engaged on a permanent salary); and, 3. Some assistance to the Albany society, at present the only feeble church within the boundaries of the Association. It was resolved to raise the sum of \$2500 for the support of the Association for the ensuing year.

At the adjourned meeting, held in the church of the Divine Unity on Thursday evening, various resolutions were offered, the most important of which referred to the Unitarian reform, as being the radical reform of our times and deserving preëminent attention and furtherance, — the encouragements afforded in the present aspects of religious opinions and organizations to more vigorous efforts among the friends of Liberal Christianity, — the duty of New York Unitarians, growing out of their central position, — the desirableness of a more intimate understanding and coöperation among the churches throughout the State, — the importance of sustaining the Christian Inquirer, and of reducing its cost to the lowest sum possible, — and the duty of giving a hearty sympathy and generous support to the Meadville Theological School. The Rev. Messrs. Pierpont of Troy, Buckingham of Trenton, Hosmer of Buffalo, De Lange, lately from the Meadville School, Judge Greenwood of Brooklyn, and Rev. Mr. May of Massachusetts, spoke to these and other resolutions. The meeting was felt to be too general in the topics discussed to be entirely satisfactory. It would have been an excellent meeting, if no other purpose had been proposed than Christian improvement; but as the annual meeting of the New York Unitarian Association, it was a failure. Fortunately, the business meeting was conducted with strict regard to practical measures, and will be followed, we trust, with palpable and worthy results.

B.

The Anniversaries. — The anniversaries of the various religious associations celebrated in Boston the present year, at the close of May, were fully attended, and were conducted in a manner altogether serious and pleasant, although not with as much spirit as we have sometimes known. There was little brilliant speaking, but some valuable discussion; and in the proceedings of the different denominations an unusual tone of candor and courtesy appears to have prevailed. The most important of

the meetings in our own denomination was that of the American Unitarian Association, at which an Act of incorporation was accepted, and a new organization adopted. The best of the public meetings, we suppose, was that held by the Sunday School Society, at which an excellent report was read and one or two addresses of unusual merit were made. The most *noticeable* meetings of the week were the continued sessions of the "League of Universal Brotherhood," and of the New England Antislavery Convention. The former is a new organization, intended to embrace Europe as well as America, and is founded on a "Pledge," to which thousands of names have already been obtained in Great Britain and this country, binding the subscribers to "employ all legitimate and moral means for the abolition of all war," and "for the abolition of all institutions and customs" unfriendly to the widest offices of humanity. The discussions, which were prolonged through three successive days, on the meaning of this pledge and the topics which it suggests, were marked by unusual fairness and ability; but the number of hearers was less than we had hoped to find. The meetings of the Antislavery Convention were distinguished by the extreme character of the resolutions, the violence of the declamation, and the general disorder of the assembly. Such full reports have been given of all the anniversaries in our other religious journals, that we do not deem it necessary to present more than a very brief record of the proceedings in which our readers may be supposed to take most interest. One series of meetings which began in the course of the anniversary week was continued by repeated adjournments to the end of the next month. A difference of opinion having arisen among the members of the "Prison Discipline Society," in regard to the censures which have of late years been bestowed in its Reports upon the Philadelphia system of "separate imprisonment," the subject was brought before the annual meeting of the Society two years ago, but has remained without a decision till this time, when it was revived through the report of a committee previously appointed. A very thorough discussion has been the consequence, pursued through several evenings, and conducted with great ability. The Tremont Temple, capable of holding some thousand persons, has been nearly filled on each evening, and an interest been awakened on the subject, as well as information spread before the public, which cannot but promote the great purpose of the Society, the amelioration of our penitentiary systems. The discussions were closed, however, by a vote to lay the whole matter on the table.

First in order of time among the meetings which we propose to notice was that called by the *Book and Pamphlet Society*, not for business, but to hear a discourse from Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York; who preached an excellent sermon in the Federal Street meetinghouse on Sunday evening, May 23, from Colossians iv. 16, on the use which may be made of the press in diffusing Christian truth and the influence which Christianity should exert upon literature. At the annual meeting of the Society, held April 26, Mr. Lewis G. Pray was chosen *President*, John G. Rogers, Esq., declining a reelection; Mr. Francis Alger, *Vice-President*; Mr. S. G. Simpkins, *Treasurer*; and Messrs. Francis Bowen, Charles Faulkner, and Dummer R. Chapman, *Executive Committee*.

The *Society for the Promotion of Theological Education*, and the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity*, held

their annual meetings on Monday, May 24, for the choice of officers, but had little other business to transact. The *Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society* elected its officers, — Hon. Lemuel Shaw, *President*, in the place of Hon. Peter C. Brooks, who declined a reëlection, — and transacted its usual financial business. The *Massachusetts Bible Society* celebrated its thirty-eighth anniversary in the Winter Street church, on Monday afternoon. After some remarks by Rev. Dr. Pierce, President of the Society, and the reading of the Report by Rev. Dr. Parkman, the Corresponding Secretary, addresses were made by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I., Rev. Dr. Carruthers of Portland, Me., and Professor Greenleaf of Harvard University. The *American Peace Society* celebrated its nineteenth anniversary in the same church on Monday evening. After remarks by Samuel Greele, Esq., who presided, the Annual Report was read by the Secretary, Rev. Mr. Beckwith, and addresses were delivered by Rev. Mr. Clark of Portsmouth, N. H., Rev. Dr. Baird of New York, Rev. Mr. Kirk of Boston, and Amasa Walker, Esq., of Brookfield. The *Boston Port Society* held a public meeting the same evening in the Federal Street meetinghouse. The Annual Report was read by the Secretary, John A. Andrew, Esq., and addresses were made by Hon. Albert Fearing, President of the Society, Captain Girdler, Thomas B. Curtis, Esq., Robert B. Forbes, Esq., and Rev. Mr. Taylor, all of Boston.

American Unitarian Association. — The American Unitarian Association celebrated its twenty-second anniversary on Tuesday, May 25, Hon. Richard Sullivan, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair. At the last session of the Massachusetts Legislature an Act of incorporation had been obtained, and the first question before the Association related to the acceptance of this Act; but as it appeared that a sufficient length of time had not elapsed since the publication of the notice of the meeting to render its proceedings legal, the morning was spent in considering what measures should be recommended to the Association at its legal meeting the next week. At the adjourned meeting in the evening the Treasurer's annual report was accepted, from which it appeared that the actual receipts of the last year had been \$9,057.68, and the expenditures \$11,120.96, leaving a balance against the treasury of \$2,063.28. The public meeting of the Association was held on Tuesday evening, in the Federal Street meetinghouse, which was crowded. The Annual Report having been read by the Secretary, Rev. Mr. Briggs, a series of resolutions were offered by Rev. Mr. Huntington, in the name of the Executive Committee, relating to the interest which the Unitarian body should take in "the humane enterprises of the present day," — the efficacy of Christian faith in saving the republic from "false tendencies," — the importance of a wider "distribution of the printed works of Unitarian writers," — the propriety of a closer union among "Liberal Christians" throughout the country and the world, — the need of "more strenuous endeavours to increase the funds" of the Association, — and the "adaptation of the Unitarian faith" to form and control the individual life. Addresses were made by Rev. Dr. Nichols of Portland, Me., Rev. Mr. Furness of Philadelphia, Penn., Rev. Mr. Frost of Concord, Rev. Mr. Clarke of Boston, Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York, Rev. Mr. Bulfinch of Nashua, N. H.,

and Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I. The Report was accepted, the resolutions were adopted, and the exercises of the evening closed with the doxology.

The business meeting on Tuesday evening having been adjourned to Wednesday afternoon, the discussions were resumed, Hon. Stephen Fairbanks in the chair. It was voted to recommend to the members of the Association at the subsequent legal meeting to accept the Act of incorporation and to adopt a code of by-laws which had been prepared by the Executive Committee. Rev. Mr. May of Leicester offered certain resolutions on the subject of Slavery, which gave rise to a debate, the conclusion of which was deferred till Thursday morning. On Thursday Mr. May's resolutions were further considered, a large number of the members taking part in the debate. The first of the resolutions, expressing the most decided condemnation of "slaveholding," was passed. A list of officers was adopted, to be recommended for election at the legal meeting. A resolution was also passed, recommending that the salary of the Secretary should be two thousand dollars. Some subjects were referred to the Executive Committee for consideration, and the Association adjourned *sine die*.

A meeting having been called according to the requisitions of law, the Association on the 3d of June, 1847, accepted the Act of incorporation, and adopted the code of by-laws which had been already considered. These by-laws are in effect a new constitution, but they propose no important change except an arrangement of the offices, to be filled by annual election, which will give at once more simplicity and more efficiency to the operations of the Association. Provision is made for the choice of two Vice-Presidents, instead of the much larger number required under the old constitution, the "Council" is abolished, and all the officers are made members of the Executive Committee, and are expected to be working men. The officers of the Association for the ensuing year were then chosen, viz. Rev. Ezra S. Gannett, *President*, Rev. Dr. Dewey having by letter declined a reelection; Hon. Stephen Fairbanks and Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, *Vice-Presidents*; Rev. William G. Eliot, *Secretary*; Mr. Henry P. Fairbanks, *Treasurer*; Rev. Ephraim Peabody, Rev. Frederick D. Huntington, Rev. James W. Thompson, Mr. Isaiah Bangs, Mr. Lewis G. Pray, *Directors*. Thanks were presented to Rev. Charles Briggs for his services as Secretary the last twelve years, and he was appointed *Secretary pro tem.*, in the absence of Mr. Eliot. The salary of the Secretary was fixed at \$2000; nearly one half of which is the income of a fund raised expressly for the purpose. Some propositions were then submitted, with a view to their being presented in due order of business next year, and the meeting was dissolved.

Unitarian Collation. — The festival which the Unitarian laymen of Boston have for the last seven years provided for the clergy of their denomination recurred on Tuesday, May 25th. The hall over the *dépôt* of the Maine railroad, which was used the last year, was again chosen, as being the only room large enough for the purpose; but a second trial, we think, has shown that its size renders it an unsuitable place. It is too large to permit the voice of the speakers generally to reach the audience; and we believe that all would rather submit to the inconven-

ience of a crowded apartment than endure the disappointment of attempting in vain to hear the addresses which constitute a principal part of the attraction. The committee of arrangements had adopted every possible means of remedying this evil, and we are forced to believe that the interest now felt in the occasion will decline if a smaller hall is not chosen in future years. Some persons may in consequence lose the pleasure of attendance, but those who shall be present will carry away a much livelier sense of enjoyment. The number of persons, of both sexes, who partook of the collation was about the same as last year, or somewhat exceeded one thousand. George S. Hillard, Esq., of Boston, presided. The Divine blessing was asked by Rev. Mr. Gray, and thanks were returned by Rev. Mr. Coolidge, of Boston. After singing an original hymn, the President of the day made an address, in which he dwelt especially on the relations that exist between the clergy and the laity, but alluded also to other topics suggested by the occasion. After the singing of another original hymn, Rev. Dr. Pierce of Brookline related a pleasant anecdote. Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston then read a letter that had been received from Rev. Dr. Montgomery, of Ireland, in reply to an invitation to attend this and the other anniversary meetings, in which he expressed the most cordial feelings, but declined the invitation for reasons which prevented his or his brethren's leaving home at this time. A similar letter of invitation, signed by individuals in Boston, it appeared, had been sent to England, but no reply had been received. Brief addresses then followed, in quick succession, from Rev. Mr. Sanger of Dover, Rev. Mr. Farley of Brooklyn, N. Y., Rev. Mr. Fisher of Boston, Robert B. Forbes, Esq., of Boston (who was called up by some remarks of the President on the recent voyage of the *James-town*, of which Mr. Forbes had the command), Rev. Mr. Corder of Montreal, C. W., Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York, Rev. Mr. Waterson, and Rev. Mr. Taylor, of Boston. Another original hymn was sung, and the company dispersed.

Ministerial Conference. — The Unitarian clergy assembled in Conference on Wednesday morning, May 26, at the chapel of "the Church of the Saviour." After prayer by Rev. Mr. Moore of Duxbury, the Annual Address was delivered by Rev. Mr. Barrett of Boston, on the "Relation of Liberal Christianity to this Age and this Country." Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston was chosen *Moderator*, Rev. Mr. Huntington of Boston, *Scribe*, and Rev. Messrs. Ellis of Charlestown, Clarke of Boston, and Briggs of Plymouth, *Standing Committee*. The Committee of the last year reported a resolution, that the name of the body be changed from the "Berry Street Conference" to the "Ministerial Conference"; which was adopted. The Committee also presented several subjects for discussion. Resolutions of different kinds were offered by members of the Conference, which gave rise to a somewhat desultory debate, that was closed by adopting a resolution presented by Rev. Mr. Morison of Milton, in these words: — "That this is not an ecclesiastical association for the passing of resolutions, but a ministerial conference for the discussion of subjects." One of the questions offered by the Committee was then taken up, — respecting the relation which exists between social reform and individual regeneration, — and called forth some remarks; after which a question relating to church-member-

ship and the Lord's Supper was brought forward by one of the brethren, and discussed till the usual hour of adjournment, when the Conference was adjourned to the next year.

Sunday School Society.—This association celebrated its nineteenth anniversary in the Federal Street meetinghouse, on Wednesday evening, May 26, Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, the President, in the chair. The Annual Report was presented by Rev. Charles Brooks, the Corresponding Secretary, and was heard with general approbation of the frank and thorough manner in which the defects in our present system of Sunday school instruction were treated. Several questions, relating to the proper methods of instruction and the interest which should be felt in Sunday schools, were then offered as topics for discussion, and addresses were made by B. T. Congdon, Esq., of New Bedford, Rev. Mr. Peabody of Boston, Rev. Dr. Nichols of Portland, Me., Mr. T. S. Harlow of Medford, and Rev. Mr. Willis of Walpole, N. H. The President in some closing remarks reviewed the positions taken by the different speakers; after which the Report was accepted. Hymns were sung in the course of the evening by a select choir of children, and added much to the interest of the occasion.

Convention of Congregational Ministers.—The Convention assembled on Wednesday afternoon, May 26, Rev. Mr. Cooke, Moderator. Rev. Mr. Adams of Boston was reelected Scribe, and Rev. Mr. Lothrop of Boston, Treasurer. The usual financial business was transacted, principally by accepting reports of committees. Rev. Dr. Ide of Medway was chosen Second Preacher for the next year. A communication was received from the "Pastoral Association," desiring the appointment of a committee, to consist of six "Orthodox" and six Unitarian ministers, to consider and report upon the relations and rights of the two denominations in the Convention and in the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society. The proposition was accepted with very little debate, and such a committee was appointed by nomination from the chair, consisting of Rev. Messrs. Storrs of Braintree, Holmes of New Bedford, Aiken and Adams of Boston, Albro of Cambridge, and Harding of Medway, from one denomination, and Rev. Messrs. Frothingham, Young, Gannett, Lothrop, and Robbins of Boston, and Ellis of Charlestown, from the other. The annual Convention Sermon was preached in the Brattle Street church on Thursday by Rev. Parsons Cooke of Lynn, on the union of believers with Christ, from 1 Corinthians xv. 45. At the usual Convention dinner, which was provided at the Revere House, a pleasant improvement upon the custom of other years was introduced by the delivery of spontaneous remarks from some of the company.

Other Meetings of the Week.—Meetings for prayer and conference held on Tuesday morning in the Bedford Street chapel, and on Wednesday and Thursday mornings in the vestry of the Bulfinch Street church. They were numerously attended by persons of both sexes, and many excellent addresses were made by both ministers and laymen. The sing-

ing was particularly agreeable, as it came from the whole body of worshippers, in free and harmonious strains, interrupting the continuity of individual addresses. The only complaint we were disposed to make arose from the comparative infrequency of the devotional services. It seems to us a great mistake, — the neglect of a blessed privilege and the loss of an important benefit, — to fill the time of our conference meetings with speeches or exhortations, however good, to the diminution of those exercises of humble, fervent prayer which are more suited to produce spiritual impression. Let us have less of man's counsel or man's experience, that we may enjoy more communion with God. We have noticed a tendency for some time to convert our conference meetings (of course unintentionally) into occasions for religious speaking, with an opening, and perhaps a closing, prayer, — very much like our other religious celebrations. Spontaneous remark is not the only characteristic of a true conference meeting; the souls of the people should be lifted up to Heaven by frequent offices of praise and supplication. These meetings have become among the most pleasant and useful of the anniversary week, and we wish them to retain every feature of excellence.

The *Communion service* was celebrated on Thursday evening, May 27, in the Federal Street meetinghouse. A sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester, from Acts i. 14, on the thoughts appropriate to the hour; and the elements were administered by Rev. Messrs. Hosmer of Buffalo, N. Y., and Thompson of Salem. The number of communicants who participated exceeded what we have seen on any previous occasion, the seats on the floor of the house being insufficient for their accommodation. The service and the spectacle were suited to awaken emotions of grateful joy in every Christian heart.

The *Evangelical Missionary Society* held its annual meeting on Thursday morning. The officers for the ensuing year were elected, and the usual business transacted. Rev. Mr. Peabody of Boston was appointed to preach a sermon on the next anniversary. A resolution was passed, expressing the sense entertained by the Society for the services and personal excellence of the late Rev. Mr. Rogers of Bernardston.

The *Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America*, which was incorporated sixty years ago, held its annual meeting on Thursday afternoon. The Select Committee made their semiannual report, the officers for the year were chosen, and other necessary business transacted. Hon. Stephen Fairbanks of Boston, and Rev. Dr. Lamson of Dedham, were chosen members of the Society. The funds of this Society, notwithstanding full appropriations to its proper objects, have, by careful management, been of late years constantly accumulating.

The *Boston Society for aiding Discharged Convicts*, an association of recent origin, but one that promises to do much good in a field of benevolent effort which has been almost wholly neglected, held its first anniversary meeting on Sunday evening, May 23. The annual report was read, addresses were made, and the officers for the year were elected, viz. Walter Channing, M. D., *President*; S. G. Howe, M. D., *Vice-President*; Mr. J. W. Browne, *Secretary*; J. A. Andrew, Esq., *Treasurer*; Messrs. R. F. Walcutt, C. K. Whipple, H. I. Bowditch, *Counsellors*; Mr. A. C. Taft, *General Agent*.

We might speak of the American Temperance Union, the Massa-

chusetts Colonization Society, and meetings numberless of other denominations, and of no denomination, of Christians; but where should we stop? We have gone as far in our account of the week as our readers may feel any special desire to follow us.

Installation. — REV. WILLIAM GUSTAVUS BABCOCK, late of Providence, R. I., was installed as Pastor of the First Church and Society in LUNENBURG, Mass., May 12, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Gray of Boston, from John xviii. 38; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Dr. Frothingham of Boston; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Fitchburg; the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Mr. Osgood of Cohasset; the Address to the People by Rev. Mr. Smith of Groton; and the other services by Rev. Messrs. Withington of Leominster, Chandler of Shirley, and Babbidge of Pepperell.

OBITUARY.

REV. WILLIAM MASON died at Bangor, Me., March 24, 1847, aged 82 years.

Mr. Mason was born at Princeton, Mass., and was graduated at Harvard College in 1792. In 1798 he was ordained as pastor of the Congregational church in Castine, Me., of which place he was the first, and for many years the only minister. In 1834 he resigned his ministry and removed to Bangor, where he resided till his death. Mr. Mason was more remarkable for soundness than for brilliancy of mind, — a man of clear and independent judgment. He was one of the first clergymen in that part of the State to bear the reproach of Unitarian opinions, — a reproach which did not disturb his equanimity, nor weaken his kindness and charity for those who bestowed it. He was distinguished by sincerity and openness of character, gentleness of disposition, and uniform cheerfulness. His eminently social qualities have left a vivid impression on the hearts of his friends. The sunshine of his face was indicative of his hopeful temperament and serene happiness. He visited the people to whom he had so long sustained the pastoral relation annually during his residence in Bangor, with equal pleasure to himself and them. The infirmities of age were borne with singular patience, and ended in his removal to a better life.

REV. WILLIAM BOURNE OLIVER PEABODY, D. D., died at Springfield, Mass., May 28, 1847, aged 47 years. We have the promise of a suitable notice of Dr. Peabody's character, which we hope to give in our next number.

REV. THOMAS GRAY, D. D., died at (Jamaica Plain) Roxbury, Mass., June 1, 1847, aged 75 years. We hope to be able to present, in a future number, a suitable notice of Dr. Gray's character and life.